DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 475 824 SO 034 841

AUTHOR	Patrick, John J., Ed.; Hamot, Gregory E., Ed.; Leming, Robert S., Ed.
TITLE	Civic Learning in Teacher Education: International Perspectives on Education for Democracy in the Preparation of Teachers.
INSTITUTION	ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Bloomington, IN.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	Vol-2
ISBN	ISBN-0-941339-28-9
PUB DATE	2003-00-00
NOTE	252p.; Papers presented at the Annual International R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education (2nd, Indianapolis, IN, May 17-21, 2002.) For Volume 1, see ED 460 064.
CONTRACT	ED-99-CO-0016
AVAILABLE FROM	ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120, Bloomington, IN, 47408. Tel: 800-266-3815 (Toll Free); Fax: 812-855-0455; e-mail: ericso@indiana.edu; Web site: http://ericso.indiana.edu.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- ERIC Publications (071)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Citizen Participation; *Citizenship; *Citizenship Education; Civics; *Democracy; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Social Studies; Teacher Education
IDENTIFIERS	Europe; Europe (East); International Assn Evaluation Educ Achievement; Russia; Supreme Court; Ukraine

ABSTRACT

The 2002 R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, which met in Indianapolis, Indiana, from May 17-21, 2002, was the source for this book. The central theme of the meeting was education for democratic citizenship in the college/university-based preparation of prospective teachers. Following an Introduction, twelve papers are included as the book's chapters: (1) "Defining, Delivering, and Defending a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy" (John J. Patrick); (2) "Teaching for the Meaningful Practice of Democratic Citizenship: Learning from the IEA Civic Education Study in 28 Countries" (Judith Torney-Purta; Wendy Klandl Richardson); (3) "Using Research about Civic Education to Improve Courses in the Methods of Teaching Social Studies" (Patricia G. Avery); (4) "Civic and Economic Education: The Nexus" (Margaret Stimmann Branson); (5) "Using United States Supreme Court Cases to Promote Civic Learning in Social Studies Teacher Education" (Thomas S. Vontz; Robert S. Leming); (6) "The Deliberative Approach to Education for Democracy: Problems and Possibilities" (Walter C. Parker); (7) "Methods of Teaching Democracy to Teachers and Curriculum Developers: Examples from Post-Communist Europe" (Gregory E. Hamot); (8) "Civic Learning in Teacher Education through an American-Ukrainian

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Partnership" (Alden Craddock); (9) "Civic Learning in Teacher Education: An Example of Collaboration by Russians and Americans" (Charles S. White); (10) "Teacher Theorizing in Civic Education: Analysis of Exemplary Teacher Thinking in the United States and Hungary" (Jeffrey W. Cornett; Janos Setenyi); (11) "Civic Learning in Teacher Education through an American-Indonesian Partnership" (Margaret Sutton; Isnarmi Moeis; Wendy Gaylord); and "Conclusion: Recommendations for Enhanced Civic Learning in Teacher Education" (Gregory E. Hamot). An appendix lists the meeting's participants. (BT)

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Civic Learning in Teacher Education. Volume 2. International Perspectives on Education for Democracy in the Preparation of Teachers.

John J. Patrick, Editor
Gregory E. Hamot, Editor
Robert S. Leming, Editor

ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Bloomington, IN.
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.

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Volume 2

CIVIC LEARNING IN TEACHER EDUCATION

International Perspectives on Education for Democracy in the Preparation of Teachers

Edited by
John J. Patrick,
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The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education
and the Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for International Civic Education
in Association with Civitas:
An International Civic Education Exchange Program

Ordering Information

This publication is available from:
ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education
Indiana University
2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120
Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A. 47408-2698
Toll-free Telephone: (800) 266-3815
Telephone: (812) 855-3838
Fax: (812) 855-0455
Electronic Mail: <ericso@indiana.edu>
World Wide Web: <http://ericso.indiana.edu>

ISBN 0-941339-28-9

This publication was developed and published in 2003 at the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC/ChESS) and its Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for International Civic Education at the Social Studies Development Center (SSDC) of Indiana University. This project has been funded at least in part with Federal funds from the U.S. Department of Education under contract number ED-99-CO-0016. The content of this publication does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of Education nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the U.S. Government.

Support was also provided for the printing and distribution of this publication with a subgrant to the SSDC from the Center for Civic Education (CCE) through Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, which is administered by the CCE in Calabasas, California with funding from the U.S. Department of Education under the Education for Democracy Act approved by the United States Congress. The program is implemented worldwide in cooperation with the United States Department of State. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of the Center for Civic Education or the U.S. Department of Education.

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program is a consortium of leading organizations in civic education in the United States and other nations. The Center for Civic Education, directed by Charles N. Quigley, coordinates and administers the Civitas program. The United States Department of Education supports the program, which has been conducted in cooperation with the United States Department of State and its affiliated offices throughout the world. Civitas enables civic educators from the United States of America and cooperating countries to learn from and help each other in improving civic education for democracy.

ERIC, Educational Resources Information Center,
is an information system within the U.S. Department of Education.

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Preface

The contents of this volume were derived from the second annual R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, which was sponsored by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California and conducted by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington. This international meeting occurred at the University Place Conference Center in Indianapolis, Indiana from May 17-21, 2002. Participants in this international meeting were professors and leaders in civic education from universities and curriculum centers in various parts of the United States and in eight other countries: Estonia, Hungary, Indonesia, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine.

The central theme of this meeting was education for democratic citizenship in the university-based education of prospective social studies teachers. We assume that improving education for democracy in programs of teacher preparation is a key to improving teaching and learning of democracy in elementary and secondary schools. If prospective teachers of the social studies are to be effective educators for democracy, then they must know what it is, how to do it, and why it is good.

The speakers at our five-day meeting variously proposed core content and pedagogical practices for the civic foundations of teacher education programs. Papers presented by these speakers have become the twelve chapters of this book.

Spirited discussions followed each formal presentation, and each day's program was concluded with intense focus-group discussions during which participants exchanged ideas about civic education in teacher education and offered recommendations about how to develop civics-centered teacher education courses and programs. A summary of recommendations and reactions of the participants is presented in the concluding part of this book.

We express gratitude to Gerardo Gonzalez, Dean of the Indiana University School of Education, for his strong endorsement of our work to renew and improve civic learning in the education of prospective social studies teachers. He officially opened this meeting of The Institute with an inspirational speech about the values of democracy and the importance of teaching them effectively to each generation of Americans. His remarks set the tone and terms for the successful meeting that ensued.

We appreciate the support of The Institute by Patrick Shoulders of Indiana University's Board of Trustees. He was the keynote speaker for the 2002 R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education. Patrick Shoulders spoke eloquently and compellingly about the global resurgence of democracy and the importance of education for responsible citizenship

in maintaining and improving democratic institutions in the United States and abroad. We were honored by his presence at our meeting.

We gratefully acknowledge the contributions to The Institute by the Center for Civic Education and by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University. The Center for Civic Education provided funding to support The Institute, and the CCE cooperated with the Social Studies Development Center to plan, organize, and conduct the five-day program. In particular, we are grateful to Charles N. Quigley, Executive Director of the Center for Civic Education, for his support of The Institute. Without his help, The Institute could not have happened. And we express appreciation to Janet Hunter, Director of the Indiana Program for Law-Related Education at the Social Studies Development Center, for her work as a manager of The Institute.

We acknowledge the resources provided for the development and publication of this book by Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program and the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University.

We emphatically acknowledge our debt to R. Freeman Butts, a distinguished scholar and advocate of education for citizenship in a democracy. He had a long and productive career as a professor in the foundations of education at Teachers College of Columbia University. After his retirement from Teachers College, he became the Hanna Distinguished Visiting Scholar of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Among his many awards is an honorary doctoral degree in 1993 from the School of Education of Indiana University. Professor Butts' ideas on civic education—expressed in such notable publications as *The Revival of Civic Learning, The Morality of Democratic Citizenship,* and *The Civic Mission in Educational Reform*—have been catalysts of our work. Through his published works on civic education and his personal interactions with us, Professor Butts stimulated our conceptualization of The Institute and shaped the organization and execution of its meetings of prominent civic educators and teacher educators. We are proud that our annual meeting, the source of the chapters in this book, is titled the R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education.

John J. Patrick, Gregory E. Hamot, and Robert S. Leming, 15 March 2003

Contributors

Patricia G. Avery is a Professor in the College of Education and Human Development, The University of Minnesota.

Margaret Stimmann Branson is Associate Director of the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California.

Jeffrey W. Cornett is Chair and Professor of the Department of Educational Research, Technology, and Leadership, The University of Central Florida, Orlando.

Alden Craddock is an Assistant Professor in the College of Education, Bowling Green State University in Bowling Green, Ohio. He was Director of the Civic Education Program of the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University.

Wendy Gaylord is a doctoral student in the School of Education of Indiana University, Bloomington.

Gregory E. Hamot is an Associate Professor in the College of Education of The University of Iowa.

Robert S. Leming is Director of the *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* program at the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California.

Isnarmi Moeis is a Professor in Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia.

Walter C. Parker is a Professor in the College of Education and an Adjunct Professor of Political Science of The University of Washington.

John J. Patrick is a Professor in the School of Education of Indiana University, Bloomington, where he is also Director of the Social Studies Development Center and Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education.

Wendy Klandl Richardson is a member of the IEA Civic Education Study Research Team in the Department of Human Development in the College of Education of The University of Maryland, College Park.

Janos Setenyi is Director of the Civitas Association, Hungary in Budapest.

Margaret Sutton is an Assistant Professor in the School of Education of Indiana University, Bloomington.

Judith Torney-Purta is a Professor of Human Development in the College of Education of The University of Maryland, College Park and Chair of the International Steering Committee for the IEA Civic Education Study.

Thomas S. Vontz is an Assistant Professor of Education at Rockhurst University in Kansas City.

Charles S. White is an Associate Professor in the School of Education of Boston University.

Introduction

John J. Patrick, Gregory E. Hamot, and Robert S. Leming

The second annual R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, which met in Indianapolis from May 17-21, 2002, was the source of this book. Papers presented during the sessions of The Institute have become Chapters 1-12.

The Institute manifests the global surge of education for citizenship in a democracy. It began with the fall of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and the republics of the Soviet Union, which prompted an interest in constitutional democracy and civil liberty among people emerging from decades of despotism. The rise of democracy and liberty in Central and Eastern Europe influenced people across the globe. Thus, at the beginning of the twenty-first century nearly 65 percent of the world's population in 120 countries lived with governments that were more or less democratic; some were full-blown democracies, while others were building the conditions of democracy.

The global movement toward democracy and education for democratic citizenship has stimulated American civic educators to renew and improve their principles and practices of civic education. As Americans worked with civic educators in Central and Eastern Europe and other parts of the world to develop curricular frameworks and instructional materials, they examined various strategies by which to promote education for democracy. Prominent among the strategies was implementation of civic education for democracy in the pedagogical institutes and universities that educate prospective teachers. In pursuit of this strategy, our colleagues in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine, among other countries, asked Americans for exemplary syllabi and programs for the education of prospective teachers. They expected to find numerous models of education for democracy in American colleges and universities, which they could adapt for use in their own teacher education programs.

Americans have responded with various examples of courses in social foundations of education and methods of teaching. They also cautioned colleagues abroad to think creatively, freshly, and independently about how to develop education for democracy in their pedagogical institutes and universities and in their elementary and secondary schools. Through these international experiences, Americans have been prompted to re-examine and re-think ideas and practices about civic education in the preparation of social studies teachers and in the development of curriculum and instruction for students in grades K-12.

International interactions revealed that civic educators throughout the world are very concerned about the place of civic education within teacher education and want to renew and reform it. Thus, we invited colleagues from America and abroad to meet with us for five-days (May 17-21, 2002) in Indianapolis to discuss civic education in the preparation of teachers. The discussions focused on such topics as the rationale for civic learning in teacher education, content at the core of civic education, conceptualization of civic education, research-based instructional strategies and methods for teaching about democracy and citizenship, national and international assessments of civic learning, and international examples of education for democratic citizenship in the education of social studies teachers.

This book, Volume 2 in the set on "Civic Learning in Teacher Education," includes 12 chapters by Americans and their colleagues abroad; some of the chapter authors are, or have been, working in Armenia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Indonesia, Russia, and Ukraine.

Chapter 1 by John J. Patrick defines education for citizenship in a democracy in terms of four components: civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions. Patrick demonstrates how his four-component model can be used to develop and deliver a core curriculum for elementary and secondary schools and programs of university-based teacher education. He proposes six recommendations for the improvement of civic education in grades K-12 of schools and in programs of teacher preparation. Finally, Patrick defends or justifies his conception of civic education and its implications for curriculum and instruction.

In Chapter 2, Judith Torney-Purta and Wendy Klandl Richardson discuss the IEA Civic Education Study, which assessed the civic knowledge and skills of 14-year-old students in 28 countries. They derive recommendations from this recent research for the improvement of curriculum and instruction in elementary and secondary schools and in programs of teacher preparation. The authors emphasize the importance of civic knowledge in the form of conceptual comprehension for the development of democratic civic skills and dispositions.

Chapter 3 by Patricia G. Avery is a review of research about civic education and its implications for improving the preparation of social studies teachers. Like Torney-Purta and Richardson in Chapter 2, Avery emphasizes that deep understanding of concepts in the theory and practice of democracy is a foundation for developing the civic skills and dispositions of democratic citizenship.

In Chapter 4, Margaret Stimmann Branson connects the subjects of economics and civics. Branson presents a rationale for the relationship of economics and civics in education for democratic citizenship in grades K-12 and in the preparation of social studies teachers.

Thomas S. Vontz and Robert S. Leming in Chapter 5 advocate the use of landmark Supreme Court cases as a staple of civic learning in the K-12 curriculum and in programs of teacher education. They present criteria by which to select cases for the curriculum, and they discuss various methods for teaching Supreme Court cases.

Chapter 6 by Walter C. Parker examines deliberative discussions in education for democracy. Parker conceptualizes deliberation, connects it to the theory and practice of education for democracy, and prescribes how to do it in K-12 classrooms and the inservice education of teachers.

Gregory E. Hamot in Chapter 7 uses his experiences in international curriculum projects in Armenia, Bulgaria, and the Czech Republic to propose a set of guidelines for teaching democracy to teachers and curriculum developers. Constant consideration of the socio-political context in each country forms the foundation of his guiding principles.

In Chapter 8, Alden Craddock describes the historical context for civic education in Ukraine. He also discusses a partnership between Ukrainians and Americans to develop programs in democracy for the education of teachers and students in elementary and secondary schools.

Charles S. White in Chapter 9 discusses the first year in the implementation of a civics-centered program of teacher preparation in Russian universities. This program involves partnerships between institutions of higher education in the Samara region of Russia and faculty of Boston University and Russell Sage College in Troy, New York.

In Chapter 10, Jeffrey W. Cornett and Janos Setenyi present the methods and findings of an ongoing qualitative research project on education for democratic citizenship in Hungary.

Chapter 11 by Janos Setenyi provides a case study of the challenges and achievements of education for democracy in a post-communist country, Hungary.

In Chapter 12, Margaret Sutton, Isnarmi Moeis, and Wendy Gaylord describe a partnership between faculty of Indiana University and Negeri Padang University in Indonesia. The objective of this partnership is to develop a civics-based program of teacher preparation that can be used in Indonesian universities.

Following Chapter 12, Gregory E. Hamot offers a conclusion that highlights recommendations and reactions in response to ideas and examples presented in the twelve chapters of this book. Participants in our meeting of May 17-21, 2002 deliberated daily in focus groups about the contents of papers presented to the plenary sessions. They recorded their reactions to the papers, and they offered recommendations for improvement of civic education in university-based programs of social studies teacher education.

We hope that the contents of this book, derived from the 2002 meeting in Indianapolis, will stimulate thought and deliberation among civic educators and teacher educators about how to improve the preparation of prospective social studies teachers. If so, our primary objective in organizing and conducting the May 2002 meeting and producing this book will be achieved.

1

Defining, Delivering, and Defending a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

John J. Patrick

The global surge of democracy during the last quarter of the 20th century has prompted a world-wide burst of new interest in civic education. In particular, leaders in post-communist countries have readily realized that the sustained development of an authentic democracy depends, in part, upon development through education of competent and committed citizens, who know what democracy is, how to do it, and why it is good, or at least better than the alternative types of political system.

The rising tide of international concern about education for democracy has stimulated fresh thinking about civic education in the United States of America. As educators abroad have turned to American colleagues for advice about how to teach democratic citizenship, we Americans have been challenged to think more carefully about what civic education is, how to do it, and how to justify it. My ongoing dialogue with colleagues from abroad has led to renewal and refinement of my thinking about education for citizenship in a democracy.

During the past 13 years, the period since the fall of the Berlin Wall, I have reflected and deliberated again and again with colleagues in the United States and abroad about three key questions.

1. What is a common education for citizenship in a democracy?
2. How should a particular kind of common education for citizenship in a democracy be included in the curriculum of grades K-12 and in the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers through higher education?
3. Why should a particular kind of education for citizenship in a democracy be implemented in grades K-12 and in programs for the education of teachers?

This chapter is an expression of my tentative responses to the three key questions about the definition, delivery, and defense or justification of a common education for citizenship in a democracy.[1] This chapter includes discussion of (1) a defensible definition of a common education for citizenship in a democracy, (2) how to deliver or use the definition in grades K-12 and the preservice education of teachers, and (3) why the definition, or something like it, should be in the core curriculum of grades K-12 and teacher education programs.

Defining a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

A worthy definition of education for citizenship in a democracy must be congruent with credible and practical definitions of democracy and democratic citizenship. We need a compelling image of citizenship in a democracy to guide a workable definition of education for democratic citizenship. Lengthy books have been written about the theory and practice of democracy and democratic citizenship. For the purposes of this presentation, brief definitions of democracy and democratic citizenship are offered, which have been derived from the vast literature on these two ideas.[2]

Most political scientists agree with a minimal or threshold standard by which to judge whether or not a regime is a democracy. This minimal criterion is the regular occurrence of free, open, fair, and contested elections by which an inclusive electorate selects its representatives in government (Huntington 1991, 7). Thus, there is government by consent of the governed in which the people's representatives are accountable to the people.

A more fully developed democracy exceeds this minimal standard by providing constitutional guarantees for civil liberties and rights, which, if justice would prevail, are exercised and enjoyed equally by all individuals in the polity. In such a democracy, there certainly is, in the memorable words of Abraham Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, for the people."[3] However, this popular government is both empowered and limited by the supreme law of a constitution, to which the people have consented, for the ultimate purpose of guaranteeing equally the autonomy and rights of everyone in the polity. In particular, there is constitutional and legal protection of the individual's rights to think, speak, decide, and act freely to influence the policies and actions of government. This kind of political order is properly labeled a constitutional representative democracy, and it provides majority rule with protection of the rights of individuals in the minority.

What image of citizenship is compatible with such a democracy? Well, responsible citizenship in a constitutional representative democracy entails the capacity for informed, reasonable, deliberative, and freely made choices in response to competitive public elections and contested public policy

issues. Such freely made or self-determined choices, however, must take into account both personal, private interests and general, public interests in order for democracy, as we know it, to flourish. Thus, there is an inescapable moral dimension to the freely made choices of democratic citizens, which involves pervasive and fundamental concern for the common good of the community.

The good citizen in a constitutional representative democracy takes responsibility for the common good by participating in and contributing to the political and civic life of the community. This quality of democratic citizenship is often labeled "enlightened self interest." Long ago, Alexis de Tocqueville called it "self interest rightly understood" because through voluntary contributions of time and effort to the good of the community, the citizens help one another to maintain conditions of public well-being needed for their fruitful pursuit of personal and private interests. Tocqueville wrote, "The principle of self-interest rightly understood is not a lofty one, but it is clear and sure. . . . Each American knows when to sacrifice some of his private interests to save the rest" (Bradley 1945, Vol. II, 122-123).

According to Tocqueville, the success of American democracy was anchored in the "enlightened self interest" of citizens who regularly and freely contributed to the common good through voluntary participation in the civil associations that constitute the civil society of a constitutional democracy. A leading American political scientist of our time, Robert Putnam, has confirmed the validity of Tocqueville's insight through his empirical studies of political behavior in the United States and other countries. Putnam's research demonstrates compellingly that the free, positive, and constructive participation of citizens in civic and political associations is what makes democracy work (Putnam 1993).

The four-component model of education for citizenship in a democracy, shown in Table 1.1 (page 9), is congruent with the preceding descriptions of democracy and democratic citizenship. Thus, it may be a useful guide to the construction, development, and implementation of a common civic education in a constitutional representative democracy.

In recent years, there has been general agreement among civic educators about the four fundamental categories or components of education for citizenship in a democracy in Table 1.1, which are (1) civic knowledge, (2) cognitive civic skills, (3) participatory civic skills, and (4) civic dispositions. These four categories, for example, were the interrelated components of the framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics. This framework will be used again to guide the next NAEP in civics (NAEP Civics Consensus Project 1996, 17-19).

The generally accepted four components of civic education have been articulated by me and others with minor variations or differences in

categorical denotations. But the similarities of the alternative models are much greater than the differences. The model in Table 1.1, however, includes several distinct denotations within each of its four components or categories (Patrick 2000a, 5; Patrick 1999, 34).[4]

Before explicating the categories and characteristics of the model, I want to stress the interrelationships and interactions among the four components. Although it is convenient to depict the components statically in a four-tiered illustration (Table 1.1), I insist they be viewed and contemplated dynamically to emphasize continuous interactions of the categories in development and implementation of curriculum and instruction. As you respond to this discussion of the four-component model (Table 1.1), use your imagination to transcend the linear depiction of categories to visualize and ponder the complex and continuous connections of the components in use.

As depicted in the first component of Table 1.1, civic knowledge involves teaching and learning systematically and thoroughly a set of concepts by which democracy in today's world is defined, practiced, and evaluated. These concepts include representative democracy or republicanism; constitutionalism or limited government and the rule of law; rights to life, liberty, equality, and property; citizenship, which entails civic identity and responsibility for the common good; civil society or a free and open society; and market economy or a free and open economy. Acquisition of such concepts as a set, a framework of connected ideas, enables learners to know complexly and deeply what a democracy in today's world is, and what it is not; to distinguish democracy from other types of government; and to evaluate the extent to which their government and other governments of the world are or are not authentic constitutional representative democracies. (See the list of core concepts in Table 1.2, page 13.)

The civic knowledge category of Table 1.1 also denotes perennial and pervasive issues about the meaning and applications of core ideas to political and civic life, such as ideas about rights to liberty and the rule of law. What exactly do these ideas mean in the lives of citizens and the operations of government? How can these worthy ideas be applied through government most effectively and responsibly? Knowledge of public debates and decisions about these issues belongs in the common education of citizens in a democracy. Further, the civic knowledge category properly includes ideas and information about the constitution and institutions of government in the polity. Finally, the history of democracy and freedom in the world is an important facet of civic knowledge that provides learners with various perspectives and contexts by which to more fully comprehend the enduring ideas, issues, decisions, and institutions associated with today's dominant type of political order.

Table 1.1

Components of a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

1. **KNOWLEDGE OF CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRACY (CIVIC KNOWLEDGE)**
   a. Concepts and principles on the substance of democracy
   b. Perennial issues about the meaning and uses of core ideas
   c. Continuing issues and landmark decisions about public policy and constitutional interpretation
   d. Constitutions and institutions of representative democratic government
   e. Practices of democratic citizenship and the roles of citizens
   f. History of democracy in particular states and throughout the world

2. **INTELLECTUAL SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (COGNITIVE CIVIC SKILLS)**
   a. Identifying and describing information about political and civic life
   b. Analyzing and explaining information about political and civic life
   c. Synthesizing and explaining information about political and civic life
   d. Evaluating, taking, and defending positions on public events and issues
   e. Thinking critically about conditions of political and civic life
   f. Thinking constructively about how to improve political and civic life

3. **PARTICIPATORY SKILLS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (PARTICIPATORY CIVIC SKILLS)**
   a. Interacting with other citizens to promote personal and common interests
   b. Monitoring public events and issues
   c. Deliberating and making decisions about public policy issues
   d. Influencing policy decisions on public issues
   e. Implementing policy decision on public issues
   f. Taking action to improve political and civic life

4. **DISPOSITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY (CIVIC DISPOSITIONS)**
   a. Affirming the common and equal humanity and dignity of each person
   b. Respecting, protecting, and exercising rights possessed equally by each person
   c. Participating responsibly in the political and civic life of the community
   d. Practicing self-government and supporting government by consent of the governed
   e. Exemplifying the moral traits of democratic citizenship
   f. Promoting the common good

Basic knowledge of democracy, its principles, practices, issues, and history, must be applied effectively to civic and political life if it would be learned thoroughly and used constructively. Thus, a central facet of education for citizenship in a democracy must be development of cognitive civic skills, which are included in the second component of Table 1.1. Cognitive civic skills enable citizens to identify, describe, organize, interpret, explain, and evaluate information and ideas in order to make sense of their political and civic experiences. Thus, they might respond to those experiences reasonably and effectively; and when faced with public issues, they might adroitly make and defend decisions about them.

The third component of Table 1.1 treats participatory civic skills, which enable citizens to influence public policy decisions and to hold accountable their representatives in government. In combination with cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills are tools of citizenship whereby individuals, whether acting alone or in groups, can participate effectively to promote personal and common interests in response to public issues.

The fourth and final component of education for citizenship in a democracy pertains to civic dispositions, which are traits of character necessary to the preservation and improvement of a constitutional representative democracy. If citizens would enjoy the privileges and rights of their polity, they must take responsibility for them by promoting the common good and participating constructively in the political and civic life of the community. This kind of responsible citizenship depends upon the development and practice of traits such as self-discipline or self-regulation, civility, honesty, trust, courage, compassion, tolerance, temperance, and respect for the worth and dignity of all individuals. These moral traits must be nurtured through various social agencies, including the school, to sustain a healthy constitutional representative democracy. Alexis de Tocqueville called these traits of responsible behavior the "habits of the heart" that represent the indispensable morality of democratic citizenship. Without these "habits of the heart" firmly implanted in the character of citizens, said Tocqueville, the best constitutions, institutions, and laws cannot bring about a sustainable democracy (Bradley 1945, Vol. I, 299).

Effective education for citizenship in a democracy connects the four components in Table 1.1, which interrelate civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions. Effective teaching and learning of civic knowledge, for example, requires that it be connected to civic skills and dispositions in various kinds of activities, which involve application of core concepts through exercise of civic skills and dispositions. Elevation of one component over the other—for example, civic knowledge over skills or vice-versa—is a pedagogical flaw that impedes civic learning (Bruer 1993, 15; Shanker 1997, 5). Thus, the conjoining through curriculum

and instruction of core content, processes, skills, and dispositions is necessary to develop effective and responsible citizenship in a democracy.

Delivering a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

The kind of civic education represented by the four-component model can yield citizens with (1) deep understanding of the essential concepts and principles of democracy, (2) strong commitment to them based on reason, (3) high capacity for using them freely and independently to analyze, appraise, and decide about the issues and problems of the civic and political world, (4) well-developed dispositions to promote the common good, and (5) competence to participate responsibly and effectively to influence constructively their civil society and government. But this desirable result will not be achieved unless the components of civic education are addressed adequately in well-designed programs for the education of K-12 students and their teachers (Butts 1989, 226-279; Niemi and Junn 1998, 158-159). Teachers cannot teach what they do not know and are unable to do. If they do not learn the principles and practices of democracy, and how to teach them, then they will not be prepared to educate their elementary and secondary school students for citizenship in a democracy. Let us, then, turn to the delivery or implementation of the four-component model (Table 1.1) in the K-12 curriculum of public and private schools and in the programs in higher education by which prospective K-12 teachers are educated and certified. How can it be done?

Here is a short list of recommendations. Although they are put forward primarily for the improvement of civic education in the United States, these recommendations may also be useful to civic educators in other countries.

1. Use the four-component model (Table 1.1, page 9) to identify and articulate the core content of a common civic education in grades K-12; that is, civic learning for all citizens regardless of differences in race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or socioeconomic class. Implementation of the model is founded on the assumption that all knowledge is **not** of equal worth. Rather, some ideas, information, and issues should be viewed by teachers and students as more important for particular purposes and thereby more worthy of emphasis in the school curriculum than other subject matter (Bruer 1993, 63-79; Cromer 1997, 177-184). For instance, the ideas in Table 1.2 (page 13) are examples of the concepts and principles of democracy in the first category of the model which are to be learned in common by all students.[5] These concepts should be in the core curriculum because they are widely, if not universally, accepted as the distinguishing categories and characteristics by which to judge whether a particular regime is more or less democratic. If people would establish, maintain, or improve a democratic political system, they must first know the concepts or criteria by which to

distinguish a democratic government from a nondemocratic government. Thus, these concepts belong in the common education of all persons who would know the meaning and uses of democracy and democratic citizenship. As students mature, they should encounter and use the same interconnected core concepts in cycles of increasing depth and complexity and in relationship to an ever-broader scope of information.

Core content is the indispensable foundation of an effective civic education. Research on the learning of civic knowledge shows strong connections between conceptual understanding of core democratic principles, such as those in Table 1.2, and "enlightened political engagement," which subsumes such attributes of democratic citizenship as political interest, sense of political efficacy, political tolerance, commitment to basic civil liberties, and civic competence (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, 19-20; Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996, 14-38; Niemi and Junn 1998, 9-10; Putnam 2000, 35-36). So knowledgeable citizens are better citizens of a democracy in their possession and use of civic skills and civic dispositions, such as those in Table 1.1.

2. Identify and include as appropriate in the core curriculum of grades K-12 the perennial public issues, and the pivotal decisions that have been made in response to these controversies, in the history of democracy in the world and in particular countries such as the United States of America. Require students in elementary and secondary schools to apply the set of core concepts on democracy and democratic citizenship in Table 1.2 to the analysis and appraisal of the enduring public issues and the authoritative decisions about them by executive and legislative policy makers and by judges in courts of law. This regular examination of key ideas and systematic practice in applying them to the organization and interpretation of information and issues is "what makes students learn" the meaning of democracy and how to practice it (Niemi and Junn 1998, 117-146). So, concepts on the substance of democracy, listed in Table 1.2, are prerequisites to the development and maintenance of an active and responsible community of self-governing citizens. Without this kind of common civic knowledge, which can be developed through common learning experiences in school, citizens are unable to act together to analyze public policy issues or problems, to make cogent decisions about them, or to participate intelligently to resolve them (Niemi and Junn 198, 19-20).

Toni Marie Massaro, the author of *Constitutional Literacy: A Core Curriculum for a Multicultural Nation*, persuasively advocates teaching and learning core ideas in constitutional history through analyses and evaluation of core constitutional conflicts or issues. She recommends a core curriculum consisting of the kind of civic knowledge exemplified in Table 1.2 and the constitutional issues in history associated with political and governmental practices of the

Table 1.2

Concepts at the Core of Education for Citizenship in a Democracy (The Civic Knowledge Component)

1. **REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY (REPUBLICANISM)**
   a. Popular sovereignty (government by consent of the governed, the people)
   b. Representation and accountability in a government of, by, and for the people
   c. Free, fair, and competitive elections of representatives in government
   d. Comprehensive eligibility to participate freely to vote and campaign in elections
   e. Inclusive access to participate freely to promote personal and common interests
   f. Majority rule of the people for the common good

2. **CONSTITUTIONALISM**
   a. Rule of law in the government, society, and economy
   b. A government limited and empowered to secure rights of the people
   c. Separation and sharing of powers as a means to limited government
   d. An independent judiciary with power of judicial or constitutional review by which to limit government according to the rule of law

3. **RIGHTS (LIBERALISM)**
   a. Natural rights/human rights/constitutional rights
   b. Political or public rights
   c. Personal or private rights
   d. Economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights
   e. Rights associated with negative and positive constitutionalism
   f. Individual and collective rights

4. **CITIZENSHIP**
   a. Membership in a people based on legal qualifications of citizenship
   b. Rights, responsibilities, and roles of citizenship
   c. Civic identity
   d. Citizenship in a unitary, federal, or confederal political system

5. **CIVIL SOCIETY (FREE AND OPEN SOCIAL SYSTEM)**
   a. Voluntary membership in nongovernmental organizations or civil associations
   b. Freedom of association, assembly, and social choice
   c. Pluralism, multiple and overlapping group memberships and identities
   d. Social regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals, virtues)

6. **MARKET ECONOMY (FREE AND OPEN ECONOMIC SYSTEM)**
   a. Freedom of exchange and economic choice through the market
   b. Freedom to own and use property for personal gain
   c. Economic regulation for the common good (rule of law, traditions, morals, virtues)

core ideas about democracy. Mastery of her proposed core curriculum, she maintains, will yield "constitutional literacy, which means not only recognition of constitutional terms, constitutional dilemmas, and historical assumptions on which the Constitution arguably rests but also the recognition of the paradox on which the document is based [majority rule with protection of minority rights], its dynamism, and its multiple contested interpretations" (Massaro 1993, 153).

3. Use landmark historical documents as sources of ideas and information about enduring public issues and as objects for the practice of cognitive and participatory skills, such as those in categories 2 and 3 of the model in Table 1.1. Core concepts and issues on democracy and freedom are embedded in the founding documents and in documents of subsequent periods of U.S. history. The pedagogical problem is to select a few of the very best documents available, and to organize them effectively for teaching and learning in the classroom.

A worthy list of core documents on democracy suitable for the core curriculum certainly includes the traditional texts of the founding era, such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, and the Antifederalist Papers (Patrick, 1995, 2000b, 2002). But it also includes pieces by women, African Americans, indigenous peoples, and others that broaden a student's understanding of multiple perspectives and interpretations of key founding-era events. A few examples of nontraditional founding-era documents worthy of inclusion in the core curriculum are a petition against slavery to the General Court of Massachusetts by free African Americans, 1777, which used principles of the Declaration of Independence in arguments for freedom; a letter from three Seneca leaders to President Washington, 1790, which expressed critical opinions about the effects of the American Revolution on indigenous peoples; letters exchanged by Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren on political and social issues of the 1770s; a sermon against slavery by the Reverend James Dana, 1791; and a letter to Thomas Jefferson from Benjamin Banneker, 1791, which included discussion of severe discrepancies between civic ideals of the American Revolution and the condition of black people in the United States (Patrick 1995, 73-107).

Ideas and controversies about constitutional democracy and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, rooted in the founding era, have permeated U.S. history from the 1770s through the 1990s. Thus, documents in subsequent periods of the country's history, which fit the American civic tradition, should be part of the core curriculum. And they should reflect various voices, diverse perspectives, and multiple interpretations of fundamental ideas, issues, and events in the development of American constitutional democracy. A few illustrative examples of the kinds of documents subsequent

to the founding era that might be included in the core curriculum are the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions at Seneca Falls, New York, 1848; the Independence Day Speech by Frederick Douglass at Rochester, New York, 1852; the Gettysburg Address, 1863, and Second Inaugural Address, 1865, by Abraham Lincoln; the Four Freedoms Speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941; and Letter from Birmingham Jail and the I Have a Dream Speech by Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963 (Center for Civic Education 1997; Patrick 2000b and 2002).

Excerpts from certain landmark Supreme Court decisions, which apply fundamental principles of democracy to key constitutional issues, should also be included in any collection of core documents for secondary school students (Patrick 2001a). Many of these court cases involve issues of majority rule and minority rights, liberty and equality, diversity and unity, which have significantly affected the civic life of diverse individuals and groups in the United States.

4. Emphasize classroom discussions of core ideas and issues in landmark historical documents through which civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions can be developed among elementary and secondary school students. The document-based discussion is a method of teaching that challenges students to participate in discourse for the purposes of (1) organizing and interpreting information in primary documents, (2) examining collaboratively core ideas and issues, and (3) exchanging viewpoints, which may be more or less different, about enduring controversies in history. Document-based classroom discussions provide opportunities for students to practice such cognitive processes as reflective thinking, critical thinking, and historical thinking.[6] Document-based discussions are also occasions for the practice of habits associated with the dispositions or morality of democratic citizenship. As they interact reasonably and cooperatively to discuss ideas and issues, students cultivate cognitive skills, participatory skills, and traits of morality, such as civility and tolerance.[7]

Classroom discussions that encourage free expression of ideas in an open classroom environment have been related empirically to development of democratic dispositions, civic skills, and knowledge of democracy (Niemi and Junn 1999, 151-152). An international assessment of civic education and achievement revealed a strong relationship between the students' beliefs that they could speak freely in the classroom about public issues and their development of knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, 137).

5. Teach civics and democracy across the curriculum through courses in language arts, literature, social studies, history, geography, and economics in addition to direct instruction through civics/government courses at particular points in the curriculum. Teaching and learning about citizenship

in a democracy are too important to be restricted to one or two semester-length courses in secondary schools. Rather, this essential element of education should be a pervasive theme throughout the K-12 curriculum. In particular, teaching and learning of U.S. history and world history, which are staples of the curriculum, should be directed to the purposes of civic education. Thus, students may have ample opportunity in various courses to learn cumulatively the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are necessary to the development of democratic citizenship.

An excellent example of pervasive civic education from kindergarten through grade 12 is the *Indiana Academic Standards for Social Studies*. The Indiana standards include a substantial civics/government strand at each level from kindergarten through the eighth grade. There also are standards for a high school course in civics/government. And the standards for U.S. history and world history amply address the core ideas, issues, and documents about the development of democracy in various periods of the past.[8]

6. Use the four-component model of civic education in Table 1.1 to design and conduct courses in the preparation of social studies teachers, which involve collaboration among professors of education and professors of history and the social sciences. Teachers cannot teach democracy effectively unless they know it thoroughly. And they are not likely to acquire deep comprehension or conceptual understanding of core concepts about democracy unless they encounter them again and again through various facets of their teacher education program. So, concepts at the core of K-12 education for citizenship in a democracy (Table 1.2) should also be used to structure the content and instructional activities of civics-centered teacher education courses. These ideas and the information and examples denoted by them could bring cohesion, coherence, and cogency to the content base of civics-centered teacher education courses. By doing this, such common weaknesses of teaching methods courses as fragmentation of subject matter and subordination of content to process might be avoided.

Throughout a civics-centered teaching methods course, the concepts in Table 1.2 could be the substantive focal points for planning, constructing, and demonstrating lessons. Various kinds of instructional materials and methods could be used consistently and coherently in terms of the core concepts on citizenship in a democracy. Further, connections easily could be made between the core concepts in Table 1.2 and the curriculum frameworks, content standards, and instructional materials commonly used in elementary and secondary school history and civics courses. For example, the core concepts permeate the instructional materials of *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution*, a three-level civics program for elementary and secondary school students (Center for Civic Education 2000).[9]

Pivotal public issues about the development of democracy in United States history and world history should be focal points of teaching and learning in civics-centered teacher education courses. Through systematic analysis of these issues in landmark historical documents, students preparing to become teachers might learn how to teach core concepts on democracy in connection with pivotal constitutional and political issues in United States history and world history. They also might develop skills in the analysis and appraisal of important primary texts in history. Later on, they can teach these skills to their elementary or secondary school students.

Prospective teachers can learn how to conduct document-based discussions of core ideas and issues by regularly engaging in such discussions in their teacher education courses. Thus, they might develop the skills and dispositions needed for successful use of this teaching method.

Finally, civic learning in the preparation of social studies, history, and civics/government teachers is equally the responsibility of professors of education and professors of history and the social sciences. Thus, there should be cooperation across university departments in the design and delivery of civic education for prospective teachers.

Defending a Common Education for Citizenship in a Democracy

A well-defined education for citizenship in a democracy will not be delivered successfully to learners unless it can be defended reasonably against skeptics or opponents. What, then, are a few brief but compelling reasons for the common civic education set forth in the preceding parts of this presentation?[10]

The primary justification for a common civic education grows out of the perennial challenge confronting every human society to maintain some form of social stability, cultural continuity, and political order against the perpetual threats of disintegration, discontinuity, and anarchy. For most peoples of our world today, the preferred system for maintaining social stability and political order is some kind of constitutional representative democracy, because only this type of regime protects public and personal rights and provides government by consent of the governed. And only a constitutional representative democracy guarantees both individual liberty and collective order.[11] A democratic political order, however, cannot be sustained unless a sufficient proportion of individuals within each succeeding generation learns the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed by citizens to make the polity work. Further, sufficient numbers of persons in each succeeding generation of citizens are not likely to learn essential civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions unless they are taught them deliberately and effectively by well-educated teachers in primary and secondary schools. Finally, social studies teachers in public and private schools are not likely

to teach effectively the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed by citizens to sustain and improve their democracy unless they are equipped to do so through civics-centered teacher education courses, which are connected to relevant university-based history and social science courses.

There currently are grounds for great concern about our effectiveness in teaching about democracy and citizenship to young Americans. The 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics revealed unsatisfactory achievement among a majority of students in grades four, eight, and twelve (Lutkus et al. 1999). The results of the 2001 NAEP in U.S. history were worse than those of the NAEP in civics (Lapp et al. 2002).[12] Additionally, research by political scientists indicates disturbing evidence of political and civic apathy and a gross decline in the kind of civic engagement required to sustain a healthy democracy (Putnam 2000; Sandel 1996). So, we Americans currently face an especially challenging time in the history of our country, when we must strengthen common civic education as one way to renew the vitality of citizenship in our democracy.

A common civic education, such as the kind defined in Table 1.1, is directed to development of a common civic identity among citizens with the freedom to choose or affirm diverse ways to pursue happiness or fulfillment. Cultural diversity flourishes in a free and democratic society, such as the Untied States of America. And national and civic unity may be at risk in such a multicultural society. Unless citizens with diverse identities regarding race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and socioeconomic class can know and support in common certain civic principles and values, they will not develop a common and unifying civic identity, which can be the cohesive core of a multicultural society. And a functioning civic community or civil society will be sustained only if citizens can communicate and cooperate in terms of a common civic culture (Curtler 2001, 91-115; Damon 2001, 133-140).

Civic educators of yesterday and today have understood that Americans have been and are a people tied together primarily by common civic principles and values rather than common kinship, ethnicity, or religion—the ties that have bound most other nations in the world. A main point of civic education in the United States, therefore, has been to develop among diverse people a common commitment to principles and values expressed in such founding documents as the 1776 Declaration of Independence, the 1787 Constitution, and the 1791 Bill of Rights. Building and maintaining national unity from social and cultural diversity is an imperative of education for citizenship in a democracy like the United States (Patrick 2000b).

Another compelling justification for a common civic education is a long-standing assumption in Western civilization: all human beings have a common human nature (Coons and Brennan 1999; Danford 2000). By nature, therefore, each individual is equal in her or his possession of certain natural

or human rights, such as those to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In line with this assumption about human nature, all individuals in a democracy are thought to be equal in their rights and their status as citizens. And, as we Americans have long believed, "Governments are instituted among Men to secure these rights, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."[13] Citizens of such a government must be educated to judge and decide freely, for themselves, what actions of their government will or will not secure their natural rights. **So, a major purpose of a common education for citizenship in a democracy is to develop each person's capacity to make informed and reasonable decisions about public policy and constitutional issues.**[14] If this educational goal is neither recognized nor pursued vigorously, then the American political tradition of civil liberties and rights will be in jeopardy.

Civic education in an authentic constitutional representative democracy has the paradoxical mission of sustaining a particular kind of political order and, at the same time, promoting free and independent choices by autonomous citizens. Amy Gutmann (1999, 114-16) refers to this paradox as "conscious social reproduction," and she says it is a necessary educational process in any free and democratic society.

Gutmann claims, and I agree, that the free and democratic society, if it would survive, must transmit its civic and political traditions from one generation to the next. "We are all committed to re-creating the society that we share," says Gutmann (1999, 39). Stephen Macedo concurs, "The project of creating citizens is one that every liberal democratic state must somehow undertake" (2000, ix). However, a central tradition and essential element of our free and democratic society is the capacity of citizens to comprehend and think critically about the content and processes of political socialization or social reproduction that they inevitably experience (Cremin 1977, 36-37). "It follows," says Gutmann, "that a society in support of conscious social reproduction must educate all educable children to be capable of participating in collectively shaping their society" to sustain and improve it (1999, 39). If so, education for citizenship in a constitutional representative democracy is true to a core principle of its theory and practice—the individual's right to liberty within conditions of an open and orderly society.

My definition of education for citizenship in a democracy, shown in Table 1.1, implies a civic education to prepare individuals for a life of liberty in a well-ordered community. If they experience such an education, students will learn what democracy is, how to practice it, why it may succeed or fail, and why it is worthy. They may also enhance their capacities to develop and maintain the kind of political and civic conditions that are indispensable to its survival. Finally, through this kind of civic education, students may learn that a democracy's success or failure depends ultimately on the

knowledge, skills, dispositions, and actions of committed citizens, just like them. Let us strive to achieve this outcome through a carefully defined, effectively delivered, and compellingly defended common education for citizenship in a democracy.

Notes

1. In the development of this paper, I have drawn upon the contents of two previous publications: (a) "Concepts at the Core of Education for Democratic Citizenship," in Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick, eds., *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 1-40 and (b) "Components of Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers," in John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming, eds., *Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers: Civic Learning in Teacher Education*, Volume 1 (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 39-64.

2. The concepts of democracy and citizenship in a democracy are discussed amply and worthily in the following works: Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Sanford Lakoff, *Democracy: History, Theory, Practice* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Paul Rahe, *Republics, Ancient and Modern* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Press, 1987); and Alain Touraine, *What is Democracy?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997). See articles in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, Four Volumes (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1995).

3. See Abraham Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" in Andrew Delbanco, ed., *The Portable Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Viking, 1992), 295.

4. The four-component model presented in Table 1.1 is generally similar to the *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* (NAEP Civics Consensus Project 1996) and to components of civic education in the *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Center for Civic Education 1994). A previous formulation of the model depicted in Table 1.1 was developed by John J. Patrick and published initially in 1999. The current rendition of the model is a refinement of the earlier one.

5. A previous formulation of this list of core concepts on citizenship in a democracy (Table 1.2) was developed by John J. Patrick and published in 1999. The current rendition of this list includes minor revisions. This list of core concepts was developed from an extensive review of literature on the theory and practice of democracy. A systematic discussion of each concept, its relationship to other concepts in this set, and the application of the set to civic education can be found in the first chapter of *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects* (Patrick 1999, 1-40). Each concept in this list and its connections to other basic ideas in democratic theory can also be found, among much broader treatments of democratic ideas, in such widely recognized standard works on civic education for democracy as *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Center for Civic Education 1991), *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Center for Civic Education 1994), and *An International Framework for Education in Democracy* (Center for Civic Education 2002). So, the core concepts in Table 1.2 can justifiably be presented as a generally acceptable and minimally essential set of ideas by which to construct the knowledge component of civic education in elementary and secondary schools as well as in civics-centered programs for teacher education.

6. Historical thinking involves analysis within context and appraisal of the content of primary documents. For a book-length discussion of this idea, see Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

7. Walter C. Parker is a leading advocate and practitioner of classroom discussion in civic education. See "Teaching Teachers to Lead Discussions: Democratic Education in Content and Method," in John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming, eds., *Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers: Civic Learning in Teacher Education*, Volume 1 (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 111-133.

8. The *Indiana Academic Standards for Social Studies* were approved by the State Board of Education on August 3, 2001. Go to this World Wide Web site to see the standards: <http://ideanet.doe.state.in.us/standards/welcome2html>.

9. An excellent curriculum for teaching elementary and secondary students about core concepts of democracy and issues connected to them is *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution*, published by the Center for Civic Education. This civics curriculum includes three sets of materials: the first for students in grades 4 or 5, the second for students in grades 7 or 8, and the third for high school students in grades 11 or 12. These instructional materials can also be used in civics-centered teacher education courses to prepare future social studies teachers.

10. My emphasis is upon common civic education, which can be delivered through the common or public school or through independent or private schools. In this emphasis, I am influenced by Rosemary Salomone, *Visions of Schooling: Competence, Community, and Common Education* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000). State departments of education can mandate requirements for a common education, including civics, which apply equally to public and private schools in the state. So, I do not tie a common education for citizenship in a democracy to attendance at a public or common school.

11. Throughout this paper, I use the term constitutional representative democracy to refer to the kind of democracy in which the Constitution guarantees equally the rights of individuals in the polity, and where representatives in government are elected by and accountable to the people. This label, constitutional representative democracy, may be used interchangeably with two other terms: liberal democracy and constitutional republic.

12. Reports of these two national assessments, the 1998 NAEP in civics and the 2001 NAEP in U.S. history, can be accessed at the following World Wide Web site: <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard>.

13. The source of the quotation in this paragraph is the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

14. The major goal of Thomas Jefferson in the common education of citizens was "to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom," quoted in Lorraine Smith Pangle and Thomas J. Pangle, *The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1993), 108.

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2

Teaching for the Meaningful Practice of Democratic Citizenship: Learning from the IEA Civic Education Study in 28 Countries*

Judith Torney-Purta and Wendy Klandl Richardson

What preparation do teachers need so that they can help students gain meaningful knowledge and participate in meaningful practice relating to citizenship? How can the national, local, school, and classroom communities shape these processes in a positive way? In providing experiences for the new teacher how can we be both true to these theories and visions and practical in our suggestions?

Meaningful knowledge and practice will be explored in this paper using two sets of theories from developmental psychology—constructivism and socio-cultural theory (especially Wenger 1998). Constructivist theory takes an individual focus and defines meaningful information as that which can be related to a student's existing cognitive structures. The novice, according to this view, has developed fewer elaborated cognitive structures to which knowledge can be related. In socio-cultural theories, meaningfulness is shaped through everyday participation in the practice of discussion within the communities to which the individual belongs. Socio-cultural theories, such as the situated cognition view of Lave and

*Major support for Phase 1 of the IEA Study came from the Pew Charitable Trusts. Major support for Phase 2 of the IEA Study came from the DFG (German Science Foundation) to the Humboldt University of Berlin and from the William T. Grant Foundation to the University of Maryland. A small grant from CIRCLE (the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement) at the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland was instrumental in supporting some of the analysis reported here. Assistance from Jo-Ann Amadeo is gratefully acknowledged.

Wenger (1991) speak of the various groups to which young people are related as "situating" their learning or cognition and use the term "legitimate peripheral participation" to describe the observation by or partial participation of individuals who are young, relative newcomers or apprentices. In a more recent formulation Wenger (1998) has detailed some ramifications of a notion of "communities of practice," or overlapping membership groups ranging from work teams to community organizations to classrooms. In these groups individuals negotiate identities, acquire knowledge and skills that are meaningful as defined by the group, and are engaged in practice. Through experience that is either intentionally or unintentionally shaped and "scaffolded" by older group members, novice members gradually move away from peripheral participation to more central involvement.

The citizenship efforts of the past few years include some examples of the constructivist approach (see Mason and Silva's discussion of pre-concepts, 2001 or Torney-Purta's discussion of cognitive schema in social studies, 1991). The socio-cultural viewpoint brings communities explicitly into the process and has been developed using cross-cultural research.

Socio-cultural theory was central in the early development of the IEA Civic Education Study, a 1999 test and survey of more than 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries whose data provide the empirical basis for this discussion. The paper begins with the study's design. Focal issues are dealt with. What have we learned about the role of schools? What characterizes meaningful knowledge in civic education and how is it related to citizenship practice? The final section presents reflections about what the results of the IEA study mean for teachers and teaching.

A Description of the IEA Civic Education Study

In the early 1990s the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA—a comparative education association of nearly 60 member countries with headquarters in Amsterdam) began exploring the subject area of civic education in order to develop a measuring instrument and conduct a test and survey of young people using some of the recent methodological innovations in studies such as the IEA Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). The IEA Civic Education Study was designed in two phases, one more qualitative and the other more quantitative. The first phase utilized teams of researchers in each country who outlined the expectations which countries had for adolescents. Another purpose of this phase was to reach consensus among member countries about a common core of content about the fundamental principles of democracy and citizenship that might be assessed. Case studies

concerning the expectations for learning about civic-related subjects by 14-year-olds were formulated within each participating nation (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo 1999). The following countries had chapters in that book: Australia, Belgium (French), Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, England, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, and the United States of America. After a cross-national consensus building process of about three years, a considerable degree of agreement about a core set of expectations for civic education was achieved. Knowledge about democracy and its principles, sense of engagement and willingness to participate, legitimacy or attitude of trust in government, and attitudes about the rights of various groups to participate were all discussed in these case studies and formed the basis for the test and survey which comprises Phase 2 of the IEA Civic Education Study. Many countries reported that civic education was part of subject areas such as history.

The IEA Civic Education researchers engaged in another three-year process of development involving research co-ordinators from more than 20 countries and two pilot tests to arrive at an instrument suitable for classroom administration across countries, and that contained clearly formulated items for translation into 20 languages. The choice to test 14-year-olds was made because that was the last year before school-leaving age in some countries that intended to participate.

These testing materials were elaborated during meetings of National Research Coordinators and shaped by votes on topics and questions. The instrument included three core domains: 1) Democracy, Democratic Institutions, and Citizenship; 2) National Identity and International Relations; and 3) Social Cohesion and Diversity. These domains were elaborated into a Content Framework for a test and survey using the Phase 1 national case study documents. The framework contained many of the topic areas recognized as important in debates about building, consolidating, and maintaining democracies: examples are incentives to participate in democracy, problems in transitions of government, characteristics and functions of elections and parties, citizens' rights, civic duties and obligations, and the role of organizations in civil society.

This framework of concepts formed the basis for constructing the test measuring civic knowledge and skills in interpreting political information (and may be found in the Appendix of Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001). The National Research Coordinators decided that only about half the testing time should be devoted to questions with right and wrong answers, however. The IEA instrument also included a measure of concepts of democracy, concepts of the good adult citizen, and concepts of

the social and economic responsibilities of government (as well as attitudinal scales and items about the intent to participate in various civic and political behaviors).

The knowledge test, selected from a pool of 140 items, included 38 items measuring civic knowledge (in the three content domains described). This test was developed with Item Response Theory (IRT scaling) and is psychometrically strong. Twenty-five of these test items measured content knowledge (relating to democratic governmental structures, citizenship, international organizations, and social diversity) while thirteen measured skills in interpreting civic information (e.g., a political leaflet, political cartoons, a mock newspaper article). All were suitable for use across countries.

The test and survey were administered in 1999 to nationally representative samples of students in the modal grade for 14-year-olds totaling 90,000 students (see IEA standards in Martin, Rust, and Adams 1999). A teacher sample responding to a questionnaire about instruction was also part of the IEA Civic Education Study. Each sampled school selected three teachers of civic education-related subjects (often history or social studies), who were teaching the tested class of students. The teacher data from the U.S. were withdrawn from the international comparisons because it proved difficult to link teachers to the tested classes, but the data may be added to the international database for secondary analysis.

The European countries participating in Phase 2 were Belgium (French), Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Russian Federation, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland. In addition, Australia, Chile, Colombia, Hong Kong (SAR), and the United States of America participated. The report of Phase 2 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001) presents the results in figures that detail the position of each country's students as "significantly above," "at" or "below" the international mean.

A testing of older students (aged 17-19) took place (mainly in 2000) in 16 countries (not including the United States). The test was augmented to include some harder items, including a number measuring economic literacy. The survey was substantially the same as for the 14-year-olds. Results, including differences between age groups are found in Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova (2002).

Findings presented here from the 14-year-olds will include country differences, areas in which there was consensus across countries, and the correlates within country of student performance in both civic knowledge and a measure of engagement (likelihood of voting). The next section considers how the measurement of meaningful knowledge fits into the research of educators and political scientists.

Aspects of Civic Knowledge Measured in Different Assessments

There are several types of civic knowledge and some meet the criteria of meaningfulness in relation to civic engagement better than others. Since civic education is expected to influence behaviors in adult communities of civic and political practice, the context provided by adult research is an appropriate place to begin (Galston 2001). Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) in their book *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters*, pieced together a remarkable collection of different data sets (many from public opinion polls) dealing with factual information about politics among adults (primarily in the United States). They examined the dimensionality and trends over time in political information and differences associated with factors such as social class. The 10-item index on which they rely includes items about "rules of the game," parties and figures, and issues (although the scattered and inconsistent measurement in different surveys was a challenge to their analysis). Among their most telling conclusions was that "less informed segments of the public are—in part because of their lack of knowledge—less able to discern their political interest, less likely to participate in politics, and most importantly, less likely to connect their political interests effectively to their political participation" (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, 177; see also Galston 2001). This book, and other similar works, did not have the requisite data to relate knowledge to educational factors other than number of years spent in school (see a review of this book in Torney-Purta 1997).

In the 1990s, the challenge to assess the role of adult knowledge (or information) internationally was taken up by Milner (2002), while Niemi and Junn (1998) accepted the challenge to analyze levels and correlates of civic knowledge among high school students in the United States using the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). These studies coincided with the IEA Civic Education Study and all attempted to confront parts of three challenges—links between civic knowledge and participation, links between civic education and both knowledge and participation, and (in Milner's work and the IEA Study) an international frame of reference.

One of the reasons for murkiness in some discussions of the role of meaningful civic knowledge in promoting civic engagement is lack of clarity in defining what is meant by participation. There are multiple modes through which engaged citizenship can be expressed, and varying opinions about which is most important—the act of voting, voting after seeking information (about candidates or issues), or a wider range of participation (including both activities conventionally associated with adults who are engaged in politics and also what is called social movement participation including activities benefitting the community). Other distinctions can also be made, such as Milner's (2002) between participation at the municipal

or national level and the distinction between community volunteering and service learning (Billig 2000).

Even more important from the point of view of education and the preparation of teachers is clarity about the types of knowledge that are likely to be valuable. Consider the six types of knowledge in the following list.

1. *Information about national political structures.* This includes specific facts about issues such as term limits or the provisions included in a nation's constitution. This is the focus of some public opinion poll items and some NAEP items (Lutkus, et al. 1999).

2. *Information about political personages and issues.* This includes the names of incumbents or about current events or issue positions, usually national in focus. Because these questions have to be updated frequently, they would not usually be included in tests like NAEP and IEA. They are a mainstay of public opinion polls.

3. *Historical knowledge.* This can range from important dates or epochs in history, to names, to values exemplified in the Constitution. The NAEP History Assessment is a good example, as well as some NAEP Civics items.

4. *Solutions to hypothetical problems* with which the individual has been presented. These are often scored for elaboration of the solution or the respondent's ability to see different points of view. A few short versions of such assessments are included in NAEP. Because resource limitations precluded cross-national scoring workshops, they could not be included in the IEA Study.

5. *Conceptual content knowledge.* This can cover the principles of democracy or their application or the functions of institutions, such as courts or political parties. They can be written to be applicable across nations (in contrast to items dealing with information about the national government). This is the focus of some NAEP items and of about two-thirds of the IEA items for 14-year-olds (including both some items on democracy, democratic institutions, and citizenship and some of the economic-related items).

6. *Skills in interpreting political communication.* This includes getting information from politically relevant documents such as newspapers, cartoons or graphs, or the ability to communicate messages to others. This is the focus of some NAEP items, and it is the focus of about one-third of the IEA items.

There are also differences according to whether the format of the measures used to assess knowledge is true-false, multiple choice, or open-response, and according to whether it is administered by telephone, individually in person, or in a group (usually a school class). If it is a school-based test, whether it is high-stakes or low-stakes makes a difference.

This section will review two studies using the six categories in the preceding list. The IEA researchers constructed a measure with items of types 5 and 6 (conceptual knowledge and skills in interpreting political

communication) giving the same multiple choice items in a group setting to all respondents, with translation checks and attention to item-to-total correlations across countries and scalability using Item Response Theory (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Niemi and Junn (1998) used the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data from the United States, a test which includes *national political information* about government structures (type 1), concepts from American *political history* (type 3), *conceptual knowledge* of principles of democracy (type 5), and skills in *interpreting political communication* (type 6) in about equal measure (although with the matrix sampled design of NAEP each of several "testlets" may have a different mixture). Generally NAEP reports estimate the number of students who achieve particular proficiency levels set by experts, while IEA uses international comparisons but does not set proficiency levels. Both IEA and NAEP are school administered and low stakes.

In light of points raised in the introduction to this paper, it is important to consider what constitutes meaningful knowledge and its plausible links to civic engagement. If we wish to connect knowledge, concepts, information, or skills to a participatory behavior (such as voting or volunteering in the community), what links make sense? Respondents may have correct information about the exact number of national legislators or judges on a particular court or know the exact wording of a constitutional provision, but this may not motivate them to vote. It might be wise to avoid knowledge measures that are merely *proxies* for the general alertness to political matters that energizes both the search for information about candidates and going to the polls. When trying to link knowledge to the likelihood to vote, the most meaningful type of knowledge is likely to be information at the time of the election (for example, the candidates' positions) or conceptual knowledge of democracy (for example, ways in which elected officials can shape policy influencing citizens). Further, the knowledge links to protest or community-based activities may be different.

Fostering meaningful knowledge requires elaborating connections to plausible motivations for participation and then making links to the experience that schools and teachers can provide. With these issues in mind, the next section of the paper will deal with findings from the IEA Civic Education Study.

Findings from Students Tested and Surveyed in the IEA Civic Education Study

Knowledge of conceptual content and skills in interpreting politically relevant information do not always go together in young people's performance when cross-national differences are examined. The 38-item IEA *test of knowledge* can be analyzed both in terms of a total score and as two sub-

scores (content and skills). The total scores achieved by 14-year-olds in the European countries did not distinguish Central and Eastern European countries from Western European countries. Among the countries with high total knowledge performance (above the international mean) were three post-Communist countries: Czech Republic, Poland, and the Slovak Republic. Four post-Communist countries, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Russian Federation, and Slovenia scored at the international mean. Four post-Communist countries appeared in the lowest category, below the international mean: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Romania (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Torney-Purta 2001).

Diversity between countries in overall knowledge test performance also characterized the Northern and Southern European and the English-speaking countries, with six countries (Finland, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Norway, and the United States of America) above the international mean and six countries (Australia, Denmark, Germany, England, Sweden, and Switzerland) in the middle group that was not significantly different from the international mean. Belgium (French-speaking) and Portugal were significantly below the international mean.

Although the two subscores for Content Knowledge of Democratic Concepts and for Skills in Interpreting Political Communication were highly correlated at the student level, there were nevertheless different patterns of performance across countries. For example, let us contrast the performance of the United States of America and the Russian Federation. The students in these two countries scored in nearly an identical fashion and at the international mean on the subscore measuring content/conceptual knowledge in civics. Performance on the Total Civic Knowledge score, however, placed the United States above the mean and the Russian Federation at the international mean. This is because students in the United States were above the international mean (in fact, at the very top of the distribution) on the items measuring skills in interpreting political communication, while the Russian students scored below the international mean on this subscale.

To look at some other countries with a pattern similar to the United States, students in Australia, England, Sweden and Switzerland also demonstrated higher levels of skills than of knowledge of content or concepts. This pattern was reversed in three of the post-communist countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia—where the students performed above the international mean on content knowledge and at the international mean on skills in interpreting political information (see Figure 3.6 in Torney-Purta et al. 2001). It appears that teachers in post-communist countries integrate civic knowledge into the academically oriented curriculum rather than developing techniques for giving students practically oriented skills, while the opposite seems to characterize teachers in the English-speaking

countries, as well as Sweden and Switzerland. This is corroborated by case study material gathered during Phase 1, in which the more abstract or academic understanding of democracy was an especially prominent theme of curriculum and teaching in countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia. In countries such as Australia, England, and the United States the focus seemed to be on hands-on activities, relying on courses in areas that we might call language arts (mother tongue) as well as social studies to teach some citizenship skills (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo 1999).

Schools play a role in transmitting meaningful knowledge of civic and political processes. However, students who come from homes with low levels of literacy resources have lower knowledge scores. Schools are the institution charged with providing a variety of content instruction and experience in democratic practice of citizenship to young people. In democracies this includes general literacy as well as information that may either be very abstract or quite concrete about democracy, political history, voting, and government structures. Schools in democratic countries are unlikely to be charged with providing information about candidates or parties (often for fear of accusations of potential indoctrination). And there is considerable variation in how different countries transmit this information, variation that the IEA Study tried to capture.

Thus, an important step in the IEA analysis was to identify the factors associated with higher civic knowledge performance within each of the participating countries. A major finding is that the measures of home educational/literacy resources and expectations for the number of years of further education are powerful predictors of total civic knowledge performance in all of the countries. A peer culture that devalues educational activities and involves students in spending many evening hours outside their homes with friends is associated with lower civic knowledge achievement in many of these countries. Peer interaction can also have positive effects, however. Participation in school councils or parliaments is a predictor of civic knowledge in nearly half of the European countries. And other analysis has shown that participating in discussions of politics with parents, peers, and teachers makes a contribution, though it is somewhat different in different countries and is less effective for students from homes with few educational resources (Richardson and Amadeo 2002; Torney-Purta and Stapleton 2002). Watching news on television is a positive but weak predictor of knowledge in about half the European and English-speaking countries. There are small gender differences favoring males in about one third of the countries.

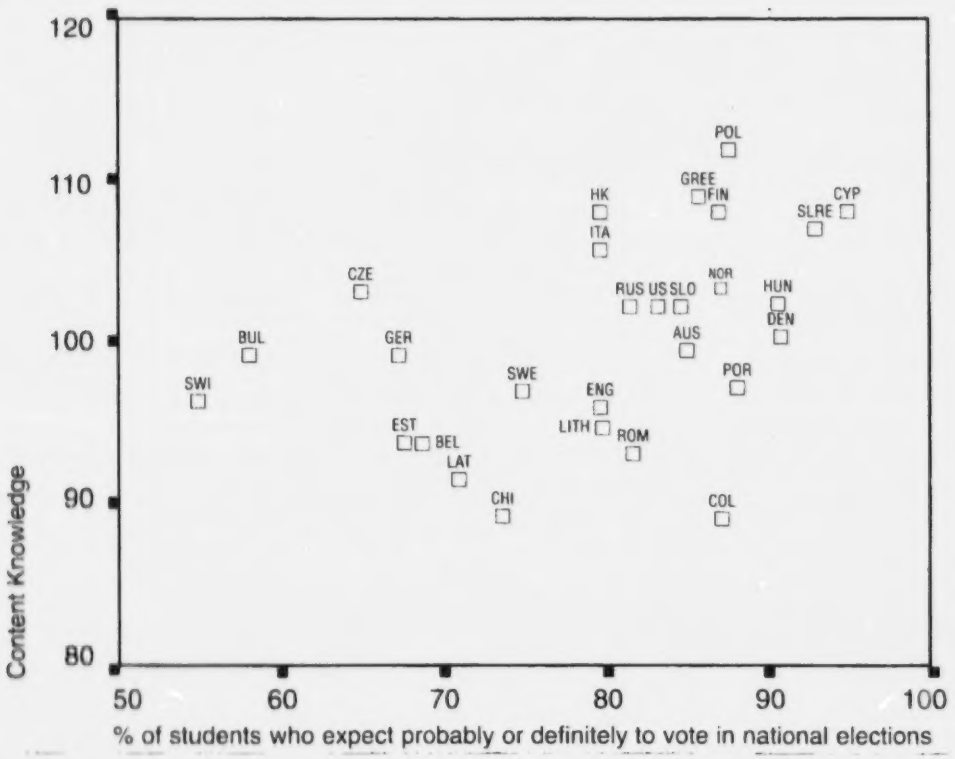
An open classroom climate in which issues are discussed by teachers and students in a climate of respect is important in fostering civic knowledge in about two-thirds of the countries (including the United States). This

finding replicates the first IEA study conducted in the early 1970s (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975) and a finding that has implications for teacher preparation and educational reform (discussed below).

Both conceptual/content knowledge and skills are related to the likelihood to vote when the results are examined within countries, but only conceptual/content knowledge is related in the between-country analysis. The proportion of these 14-year-old-respondents who said that they would probably or certainly vote in national elections was about 80% across countries. (The placement of countries along the horizontal axis in Figure 2.1 illustrates these proportions.) In most (but not all) countries this is higher than the proportion of the youngest members of the electorate who actually have been voting in recent years. Students from the Southern European countries tend to be at or above the international mean.

Figure 2.1

Scatter Plot for 28 Countries from the IEA Civic Education Study, Mean Country Content Knowledge and % of 14-Year-Old Students Who Expect to Vote in National Elections: r = .425 (p<.024)



We can examine the predictors of likelihood to vote in two ways: within countries and between countries. To paraphrase the research question in the first analysis, within countries are students who say they are likely to vote also the students with high knowledge or trust scores? (See Table 2.1.) To paraphrase the question in the second analysis: are countries where students say they are likely to vote also the countries where knowledge of generalized political processes is high and where skills in interpreting political information are high? Table 2.2 presents a summary of both within country correlations and between country correlations.

Table 2.1

Within Country Predictors of the Likelihood of Voting: IEA Civic Education Study

Civic knowledge—total including "content" and "skills" (+ predictor in 28 countries)
Learned about the importance of voting in school (+ predictor in 28 countries)
Frequency of watching television news (+ predictor in 26 countries)
Open climate for classroom discussion (+ predictor in 20 countries)
Expected years of education (+ predictor in 14 countries)
Home literacy resources (+ predictor in 6 countries)
Participation in student council (+ only in the United States)

Source: Analysis summarized from Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001.

Within Country Analysis. Analysis of the predictors of the likelihood of voting showed that both the amount of civic knowledge (the total civic knowledge score) and the extent to which the students reported that elections and voting were emphasized in their school's classes and curriculum were significant predictors of the likelihood of voting, as were the openness of the classroom climate for discussion and viewing television news (see Table 2.1). More detail about civic engagement, both between country differences and within country predictors, may be found in Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz (2001) and in Torney-Purta and Stapleton's multilevel models (2002). Those analyses showed that rigor of teaching was important for predicting knowledge, but it was not important directly for predicting likelihood of voting. The overall picture is that explicit and meaningful links between what students learn about elections in school and their own responsibilities to vote are important.

Now let us consider the content knowledge subscale and the skills subscale. As Table 2.2 shows, Civic Content Knowledge is a predictor of *Likelihood of Voting* within all 28 countries using students as the units of

analysis. The correlation between Civic Skills and voting is positive and significant for the within-country analysis except in Finland.

The IEA study has shown that knowledge of democratic principles and concepts, and skills in interpreting communication, have a role to play in stimulating electoral participation. An important future step is tracing *substantive links* between political knowledge or information and civic participation.

Between Country Analysis. The across country correlations were computed by constructing a supplementary database consisting of the 28 countries in the study. The average scores on all the IRT scales and the percentages of students giving certain answers (e.g., saying that they were probably or very likely to vote) in each country were entered in this database along with some country level demographic statistics. These correlations are found in the second column of Table 2.2.

Of the two sub-scores derived from the test, only the content knowledge score was significantly related to voting with countries as the unit of analysis, with an *r* of .425. (Note that with an N of 28 for the 28 countries, a correlation must be in the high .30s in order to be significant.) Figure 2.1 presents a scatter plot corresponding to this correlation from the analysis using the 28 countries as the units of analysis. One outlier is Colombia (where many students say they will vote but where the average content knowledge score is the lowest of the 28 countries). Another outlier is the Czech Republic, where the content knowledge score is high, but a relatively low proportion of students say they are likely to vote. The trend is for those countries where students have more general content knowledge of democratic principles and concepts to be the countries where students are more likely to say they will vote. The countries' average scores on skills in interpreting political information were not significantly associated with the percentage of students who said they were likely to vote (Table 2.2).

These analyses taken together with those presented earlier focuses our attention on the importance of meaningful understanding of concepts and principles among students in relation to voting.

Drawing Implications for Civic Education from Models Used to Study Mathematics Teaching and from Teachers' Responses in the IEA Study

Research Models. Social studies teaching has received considerably less attention in recent classroom-based research than mathematics teaching. The differences in content between the two subjects are considerable, but some of the research nevertheless provides interesting perspectives for civic education. One of the most intriguing recent research programs in mathematics education is that of Lampert, whose work more than a decade ago helped establish a research basis for studying situated cognition and

Table 2.2
Within-country and Between-country Correlations (r's) for Likelihood to Vote

	Likelihood to Vote (1 item) Within-Country 500 students per country	*Likelihood to Vote 28 countries as cases*
Content (Conceptual) Knowledge: 25 item IRT Scale	+ in 28 countries	.425 (p<.024)
Skills in Interpreting Political Information 13 item IRT Scale	+ in 27 countries (not Finland)	.263 (n.s.)

Notes
+ or - in column 1 indicates statistically significant and positive or negative. Controlling for expected education would not have changed these results, *Within-country correlations* in columns 1 based on 500 randomly selected students from each country (calibration sample, N=14,000).
Between country correlations based on a data base in which mean scores from each of the 28 countries were entered along with demographic and other country-level statistics.

showed that in mathematics classrooms students became participants in communities which practiced the kinds of discourse and understanding that is common among mathematicians. Lampert's most recent book (2001) takes this farther by delineating a triangle of teacher, student, and content, adding an intermediating stream of practice. She then elaborates the diagram to take account of the different "selves" of the teacher and students and delineates the forces influencing each. The overarching idea is that teacher and students together operate in a community of practice negotiated around a content focus which they share but which is influenced by forces outside their control (the principal, standards and tests, the political process, what is necessary for economic success). Teachers are seeking to make the classroom a site for productive social interaction in which students learn from both teachers and from their peers as members of this community.

Because the content to be learned about citizenship and democracy is more socially influenced and contested than mathematics content, factors such as tests, expectations of administrators and parents, the statements of politicians, and definitions of experts are especially influential. Identifying meaningful knowledge as defined by the communities of nation, local city, neighborhood, school, and classroom is therefore an especially important task for the teacher, and one that is made even more complex by the need to negotiate with parents and students about what is to be learned.

IEA Teacher Data. Although not built on the same model as Lampert's research, the IEA study is informative about what teachers and civic education experts think of as appropriate ways to teach and structure civic education and about the role of schools (Torney-Purta 2002, Torney-Purta and Richardson 2002). The Phase 1 national case studies indicated a variety of curricular patterns in offering civic education content to 14-year-olds, sometimes in a separate course but quite frequently integrated into other courses, sometimes without a clear plan (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo 1999; Schwille and Amadeo 2002). In the Phase 2 survey, teachers tended to believe that civic education was most meaningful and effective when it was integrated into courses such as social studies or history. Offering civic education as a specific subject was appealing in a number of the post-Communist countries, however, as a way to establish a place in the school schedule for democratic aims of education.

Teachers across countries perceive a core of meaningful civic-related content. Teacher respondents identified topics they thought most important, those they felt most confident to teach, and those they covered with students. If teachers thought a topic was important and felt confident in their understanding of it, they were more likely to teach it. National history, the national constitution, and citizens' rights were among the more important topics. International organizations and economics were thought to be less important and were covered less fully. More training in content was high on the list of ways teachers thought civic education could be improved.

According to these teachers, the prescriptions they found in curricular guidelines did not always match their professional judgments about effective teaching. In most countries teachers reported that their instruction emphasized the transmission of knowledge. However, these same teachers had a vision of civic education that emphasized looking at material more deeply or exploring its relationships to participation or values. This tension seemed especially prominent in countries like Italy where teachers of 82% of the students were teaching to emphasize knowledge transmission while only 2% felt that this was the most desirable focus. In Norway 80% were emphasizing knowledge while only 7% believed that was the best way to teach in this subject area. The questions in the teacher survey were not formulated in a way to address the issue of meaningfulness directly. Clearly, however, the teachers perceived a tension between the stress on transmitting factual knowledge and other approaches that might involve students in constructing knowledge that was meaningful to them.

The instructional methods used by the teachers bear out the emphasis on knowledge transmission. Across countries textbooks, worksheets, and recitation predominated. Role-playing exercises and projects were used more rarely. The German researchers reported that teachers found the

prevailing expectations for in-class instruction so limiting that they were likely to confine their civic-relevant instruction to elaborate extra-curricular projects (Schwille and Amadeo 2002).

Students in the United States were asked about the instructional methods used in their classrooms. This information corroborates the teachers' reports from other countries. The U.S. national report indicated that reading from the textbook and filling out worksheets were the most frequent activities reported by students, with role playing, debates, discussions and more interactive lessons much less frequent (Baldi et al. 2001).

One set of identical questions about what is taught (or learned) in school was asked internationally to both students and teachers. Similar percentages of teachers and students within each country agreed that students learned how to cooperate in groups with other students, to understand people who had different ideas, and to contribute to solving social problems in the community. Within each country, however, *the proportion of teachers who believed that students learned about voting in school* tended to be considerably *higher than the proportion of students who believe they had learned about this topic*. This discrepancy was especially large in several of the countries in which students appeared unconvinced about the importance of voting and other forms of political participation (e.g., Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany). In interpreting this discrepancy between students and teachers, keep in mind the models summarized in Table 2.1 showing the importance of emphasis on voting in school as a correlate of enhanced likelihood of voting on the part of students.

In fact, a relatively small proportion of students reported in the survey that they had opportunities to learn about the debate and discussion that is part of election campaigns. Schwille and Amadeo (2002) concluded, especially from the Romanian, Czech, and Hungarian case studies, that although the prohibition against partisan politics in school is understandable, it can easily be interpreted by teachers as banning any sort of political and social problem discussion in school, especially if elections, candidates, or parties are referenced. Many teachers do teach about elected officials or elections that have been important in history. Some of the implicit messages about the importance of elections that teachers take for granted as part of these lessons may not be coming across to students, however.

Prediction Models. The predictors found in the model in Table 2.1 and the correlations found in Table 2.2 give further guidance. The IEA results at both the between country and the within country levels suggest that content or conceptual knowledge is very important and that skills also make contributions to student engagement in the form of willingness to vote as adults. Confidence in the value of school participation is also a predictor, when more complex models are analyzed (Torney-Purta and Stapleton 2002).

Still another predictor from the area of instructional practices suggests that one of the best ways to strengthen civic education is by enhancing the climate for open and respectful discussion of social and political issues in the classroom. This should take place in a content-rich environment. Promoting the abilities of teachers to foster such a climate and discussion would require extensive efforts in teacher training and communication with parents to explain the purpose and structures of these approaches.

The IEA results argue for the importance of schools—their curriculum, content teaching with high expectations, open classroom discussion, and school cultures encouraging students to take an active role in solving school problems (summarized in Torney-Purta 2002). We may need research on citizenship education like that on mathematics education conducted by Lampert to translate the IEA survey findings into prescriptions that take into account teachers, students, and content in the context of influential forces outside the school.

Reflections

Taking seriously the concept of *meaningfulness in education for citizenship*, the material from both students and teachers in the IEA Civic Education Study suggests a focus on content embodied in civic concepts, principles, and skills. Educators should be less focused on transmitting specific and sometimes time-bound pieces of factual knowledge. Knowing how to interpret a candidate's position or the conditions under which protest might be limited are important skills, for example, and so is conceptual knowledge about the functions that political parties and elections perform in democracies. In contrast, knowing how to match each amendment of the Constitution to its correct number or how many judges sit on a particular court seem more like *proxies* for meaningful knowledge. These views correspond to Zemelman, Daniels, and Hyde's (1998) descriptions of the content included when "best practice" is implemented in social studies. Such practice moves away from narrow instruction restricted to textbook facts and pieces of knowledge that are disconnected from each other and from the students' experience. These views are corroborated by several IEA country-case-studies noting that ineffective civic education is taught by rote and disconnected from the everyday realities of students.

Taking seriously the concept of *communities of practice* requires attention to the communities or groups of which students are members as potential sources of meaning. Civic learning is effective when it is related to practice and to face-to-face communities to which young people belong. These experiences provide students opportunities to try out their knowledge in interpersonal situations and to make the experience more meaningful by discussing it with others. Students need to move beyond diagrams about

how a proposal becomes enacted into law in Congress or the national parliament to see, for example, how their ideas and ideals about school organization work when put into practice. This can be more effective if educators ensure that discussion and practice are anchored in explicit reflection on civic and political experience. It may be unrealistic to expect that students will make the necessary links on their own or understand some of the subtle messages that are included in lessons.

Wenger (1998) and Lampert (2001) would predict that the experience the young person has of an open, trusting, and respectful climate for discussion with classmates is vital. In fact, the IEA study shows that such a climate is a predictor of the likelihood of voting (and also of several other measures such as civic knowledge and the students' confidence in their ability to be effective participants in decisions influencing their school) in the majority of countries. A sense that one is a member of a classroom community engaged in the practice of discussion as a mode of learning is very important, as is a school culture in which the voices of students matter.

In order to be able to join and function in classroom and school communities of practice, it seems crucial to learn to participate in discussions where participants come from different value positions. This means not only having the skills of effective communication and respect for democratic decision making but also the competencies necessary to adapt one's discussion style to different groups, to evaluate alternative points of view, to reach a compromise, and to know when not to compromise because of strongly held values, and to participate in leadership. These skills, though difficult to assess, can be addressed in the classroom, the broader school community, and youth organizations.

The education of teachers is a developmental process influenced by the many communities to which they belong, within and outside the institutions where training and practice take place. Teachers will teach the topics that are most meaningful to them. Building their structures of meaningful knowledge is clearly important. But the question should be asked as to *why* and *how* we might expect such knowledge to relate to various forms of participation that the community values. To give one example, what might teachers or students learn about elections that would make them more willing to cast informed votes? As teachers come closer to taking on classroom responsibilities, they also need to develop a vision of the content they are to teach that is *linked to* meaningful dimensions of knowledge and practice as defined in the curriculum, textbooks, and various relevant communities, *as well as* to the experiences of their students.

Teachers' own identities within a variety of communities are salient. Observational or action research assignments, which ask them to be explicit and reflective about these identities and about meaningful knowledge in

relation to them, may be useful. Assignments that help them relate to the various communities of their students by interviewing parents, working as assistants in community based youth programs, or tutoring either younger students or adults preparing to be citizens—and then reflecting on their knowledge base—can have particular value.

Those preparing to be teachers need to *grapple* with the concepts, principles, and skills they are expected to teach. If standards are very detailed, it may be useful to "zoom" in on a small section or to rewrite them in order to extract the meaningful dimensions. If the standards are vague or abstract, a different kind of analysis may be in order. Talking with teachers about what the major ideas mean to them can be helpful. The purpose of these activities is to make the standards explicitly meaningful in terms of both teachers' and students' understanding, to craft appropriate messages for the classroom, and to understand how to connect them to voting and other types of participation valued by the communities surrounding the school.

Those preparing to be teachers need to learn how to establish classroom communities in which the practices related to citizenship (such as open discussion) are not only constituent parts but are also explicitly discussed, so that students become aware of them. Most important is to prepare teachers to encourage deliberation and discussion in a content-rich setting. Presentations using the visual media can provide exemplifications of these practices within the community.

In the current context, it may be strategic to join citizenship efforts with other efforts such as the preparation for testing in reading. The tradition of "reading in the content areas" gives one model for this. Melding civic education content and concepts into reading books and assessments may be a viable way to improve civic education. In districts where social studies classes are being de-emphasized in order to give more attention to reading, this type of infusion approach may be of particular utility.

In summary, we need to make those preparing to be teachers into reflective observers of the ways in which their own classrooms can influence civic knowledge and communities of which students are members, and we need to look at explicit and implicit messages, the sources of meaningful knowledge, and its relation to the practice of citizenship. If young people (teachers and their students) are to understand powerful civic themes, they need to encounter them in multiple settings that represent communities important to them (not just the classroom), so that they can make these messages authentic and fundamentally meaningful.

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3

Using Research about Civic Education to Improve Courses in the Methods of Teaching Social Studies

Patricia G. Avery

In 1968, political scientists Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings published an article entitled "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum" in the *American Political Science Review*. The results of their national study indicated that the civics curriculum had little or no impact on young people's political knowledge. In 1980, Lee Ehman published an extensive review of the research on political socialization. Like Langton and Jennings, he found that the "[traditional civics] curriculum alone does little to alter the political awareness or knowledge of secondary school students" (Ehman 1980a, 105). Studies of political socialization—a burgeoning area of research in the 1960s and early 1970s—slowed considerably, such that Timothy Cook wrote of the "bear market of political socialization research" in a 1985 article in the *American Political Science Review*.

The 1990s saw a renewed interest in political socialization research (Niemi and Hepburn 1995), perhaps in part because of the newly emerging democracies in the Eastern Europe, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the increasing number of ethnic minorities in U.S. schools. The most extensive study conducted to date is the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) Civic Education Study, a two-part study of civic education in 28 countries (see Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg, and Hahn 2001; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001; Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo 1999). Other studies, among them Hahn (1998), Niemi and Chapman (1999), and Vontz, Metcalf, and Patrick (2000) have also made significant contributions to the literature on political socialization. In general, these studies suggest that the school plays a more important role in political socialization than previously thought. It thus

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seems an appropriate time to examine the status of young people's civic identity, and the potential role of the school in shaping that identity. I am particularly interested in how that research might inform teacher educators in their preparation of beginning teachers.

I explore two questions in this chapter. What does the research say about the degree to which young people in the United States possess the attributes of engaged and enlightened citizens? What are the implications of the research on citizenship for civics teachers and teacher educators? As a framework for categorizing the research, I use a modified version of a model of democratic citizenship put forth by Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry (1996). In the next section, I describe their model, after which I return to the focal questions.

The Enlightened and Engaged Citizen

In their book *Education and Democratic Citizenship*, Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry (1996, 11-38) outline a model of democratic citizenship that combines classic liberal and republican principles. They contend that democratic citizens possess the knowledge and skills to navigate the political terrain (engagement), and they accept the norms of democracy, such as fairness and equality, as part of living in a community where people have shared interests and needs (enlightenment). Both aspects of citizenship are important. The engaged but unenlightened citizen participates in politics but without an understanding of the "rules of the game." He knows how to achieve results, but those results serve his narrow self-interest. The enlightened but unengaged citizen appreciates the norms of democracy and understands the nature of the public good, but essentially operates as a bystander in the political sphere. She "watches" but does not contribute. Table 3.1 shows how Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry identify the characteristics of political engagement and democratic enlightenment.

The engaged citizen participates in a range of political activities, and is knowledgeable about political actors, current events, and the formal political structure. The enlightened citizen understands core democratic principles, such as popular sovereignty and constitutional government, and is attentive to events and actions that potentially undermine these principles. Some of the attributes are principally characteristics of engaged *or* enlightened citizens, while others are characteristics of both engaged *and* enlightened citizens. For example, the engaged citizen is attentive to politics because he is watching out for his own self-interest; the enlightened citizen is attentive because she is concerned about threats to the political system.

Table 3.2 is a slightly modified version of the framework in Table 3.1. The changes are intended to make the framework more consistent with the language and goals of civic educators. For example, I changed the category

Table 3.1
Characteristics of Political Engagement and Democratic Enlightenment

Attribute	Engagement	Enlightenment
Knowledge of principles of democracy		X
Knowledge of leaders	X	
Knowledge of other current political facts	X	X
Political attentiveness	X	X
Participation in difficult political activities	X	
Voting	X	X
Tolerance		X

Source: Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996

entitled "Knowledge of principles of democracy" to "Understanding of the principles of democracy" to reflect the difference between knowing facts and understanding concepts. Understanding goes beyond knowledge; one can know facts and definitions, but have very little understanding of their significance or how they relate to one another. The other adaptations reflect major emphases in the civics curriculum. For example, student knowledge of the "structures and functions of government" is an oft-cited goal and focus of the civics curriculum.[1] This knowledge, similar to knowledge of political organizations, enables the engaged citizen to pursue his political interests because it helps him navigate his way around the political system. Finally, I include civic skills—the ability to interpret information and the ability to engage in political discussions[2]—because the development of cognitive and participatory civic skills is an important component of the civics curriculum.

The model in Table 3.2 is intended to be a framework for categorizing and thinking about the research in civic education. I recognize that others involved in civic education research might choose different attributes of the democratic citizen, and that the differences between political engagement and democratic enlightenment are not nearly as distinct as one might think from looking at the model. As an organizational tool, however, the model helps us address our first primary question: what does the research say about the degree to which young people in the United States of America possess the attributes of engaged and enlightened citizens?

Table 3.2
An Adaptation of the Nie, Junn, Stehlik-Barry Characteristics of Political Engagement and Democratic Enlightenment

Attribute	Engagement	Enlightenment
Knowledge & Skills		
Understanding of the principles of democracy		X
Knowledge of the structures and functions of government		
Knowledge of political organizations	X	
Civic skills (interpreting political information and engaging in discussion)	X	X
Political Participation		
Political attentiveness	X	X
Voting	X	X
Participation in difficult political activities	X	
Political Orientations		
Tolerance		X

Recent Research on Civic Education and Understanding/Knowledge

Understanding the Principles of Democracy. Citizens of a democracy need to have a basic understanding of the principles of democracy if they are to appreciate how their society differs from non-democratic societies. They also need to be able to recognize when their society engages in non-democratic practices. In the IEA Civic Education study, students were asked 25 questions about their understanding of democracy. Following is a sample item, which requires students to distinguish between democratic and non-democratic practices.

> In a democratic country, having many organizations for people to join is important because this provides . . .
>
> A. a group to defend members who are arrested
> B. many sources of taxes for the government
> C. opportunities to express different points of view
> D. a way for the government to tell people about new laws (Baldi et al. 2001, 17)

On this item, 78% of the U.S. 14-year-olds gave the correct response (C), as compared to the international average of 69%. On the total content knowledge

scale of 25 items, U.S. students were significantly above the international mean, and in no country did students score significantly higher than the U.S. students.

The results of the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) civics assessments give a more detailed picture of students' understanding of democracy across specific areas. Niemi and Junn (1998) analyzed the 1988 NAEP data for twelfth-grade students and found that students' knowledge is strong in some areas, such as criminal and civil justice, the general rights of citizens, and discrimination. These are areas students are likely to learn about both inside and outside the classroom. Students had difficulty, however, with more abstract concepts such as representative democracy, bicameralism, and social contract. These results are consistent with studies in which young people are interviewed, and asked to elaborate on short responses.

Studies involving interviews with young people suggest that their *understanding* of democratic principles is fairly thin. Sigel and Hoskin (1981) found that twelfth-grade students could easily espouse the "slogans of democracy," but when probed, they were unlikely to demonstrate any depth of understanding of these concepts. Similarly Sinatra, Beck, and McKeown's (1992) interviews with young people in the fifth grade and then again when they were in the eighth grade suggested that their understanding of democracy did not increase significantly, and that most students were unable to articulate the relationships among democratic concepts at either point in time. In response to the question "What does it mean to be a free country?" students frequently mentioned personal freedoms (e.g., "I can do what I want to do") without making any reference to the government or governmental institutions. Most of the students demonstrated a familiarity with democratic terms, but an inability to explain them in any depth.

Knowledge of the Structures and Functions of Government. Although the "structures and functions of government" are probably not thought of as the most engaging aspects of the political sphere, citizens who are actively involved in politics have a good idea of who is responsible for doing what. These citizens know that they should not contact their U.S. Senator for problems regarding garbage collection, and that calling the mayor's office about U.S. engagement abroad is not appropriate. In other words, they have a conceptual map that helps the navigate through the formal political system. In a national study of adult political knowledge and behavior, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) found this type of political information to be the single best predictor of political sophistication and involvement. They suggest that political information is "a central resource for democratic participation."

Unlike civil and criminal justice procedures, students are not likely to be exposed to the structures and functions of government outside of school. Niemi and Junn (1998) found that in the 1988 NAEP civics assessment, students' knowledge varied widely depending on the item (e.g., 94% knew that a Presidential election is held every four years, whereas only 15% knew that a majority of Supreme Court justices could strike down a law), but in general, they thought the high school seniors' knowledge of the basic structures and functions of government was good. In a comparison of eighth and twelfth graders' NAEP scores in 1988 and 1998, however, students at both grade levels tended to score lower 10 years later on questions related to the structures and functions of government (Weiss, Lutkus, Grigg, and Niemi 2001, 67-70).

In their interviews with fifth and eighth grade students, Sinatra, Beck, and McKeown also noted students' relatively strong knowledge of the structures and functions of government. In comparison to their knowledge base in fifth grade, students in the eighth grade "took from their American history instruction [knowledge of] the structural features of government rather than its representative democratic nature" (Sinatra, Beck, and McKeown 1992, 642). The instructional emphasis on the structures and functions of government may supplant time spent on developing an in-depth understanding of political concepts, such as representative democracy. Critics of traditional civics textbooks have commented on the strong emphasis on the structures and functions of government, as well as the limited discussion of more complex political concepts (Avery and Simmons 2001; Carroll et al. 1987).

Knowledge of Political Organizations. While individuals have and always will play an important part in the political sphere, throughout history it is groups that have effected major change. For example, Martin Luther King, Jr. drew substantial support from African-American churches, particularly those in the south; Gloria Steinam and Betty Friedan depended on women's "consciousness-raising groups" to mobilize the Women's Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Advocacy groups do not, however, play a major role in traditional civic texts (Avery and Simmons 2000/2001, 125).

In the IEA Civic Education Study, there was a moderate degree of consensus among students across countries that a good citizen is involved in activities that support human rights and protect the environment. But the students were unlikely to see the political dimensions of human rights and environmental organizations. It is as if they placed these issues outside of the political sphere. The fact that traditional civics textbooks devote so little attention to advocacy groups only serves to further depoliticize human rights and environmental issues.

Traditional political parties are unlikely to spearhead social movements, but they do work to enact the laws that enforce change. Weiss et al.'s analysis of the 1988 and 1998 NAEP data on civics indicated that high school seniors' knowledge of political parties in the U.S. was weak.[3] For example, in 1988, only 40% of twelfth graders knew that the procedures for nominating presidential candidates is established by parties; 10 years later, the percentage was similar (43%) (Weiss et al. 2001, 70). A recent analysis of civics textbooks by Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) found that while the two major U.S. political parties were identified, and politicians were often referred to by party affiliation, there was very little discussion of the major positions of the parties or their platforms.

Interestingly, the IEA Civic Education study found that only 29% of the students in the United States envisioned joining a political party as adults (Baldi et al. 2001, 90). And of six governmental and political institutions (city council, courts, Congress, police, national government, and political parties), students indicated they were least trustful of political parties (72). It is unclear what accounts for students' knowledge of and attitudes toward political parties, although the bland portrayal of political parties in civics and government texts may be a contributing factor. Students may also question the effectiveness of political organizations. In Hahn's (1998) five-nation study, a mere 19% of the U.S. students—the lowest percentage across countries—"agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement: "Joining pressure groups and giving them money are effective ways for people like me and my parents to have a say about how the government runs things" (40).

Recent Research on Civic Education and Cognitive/Participating Skills

Interpreting Political Information. Civic skills are necessary if one is to know methods for understanding and engaging in the political sphere. Tests of civics skills usually include items that require students to interpret political information, read graphs and tables, and distinguish fact from opinion. A sample item from the IEA Civic Education Study is as follows:

> Three of these statements are opinions and one is a fact. Which of the following is a FACT?
>
> A. People with very low incomes should not pay any taxes.
> B. In many countries rich people pay higher taxes than poor people.
> C. It is fair that some citizens pay higher taxes than others.
> D. Donations to charity are the best way to reduce differences between rich and poor. (Baldi et al. 2001, 21)

U.S. students scored higher than students from any other country on the civic skills portion of the assessment; on this particular item, 69% of the students gave the correct answer (B), while the international mean was much lower, 49% (21).

Niemi and Junn (1998) found that the percentage of seniors who gave correct responses to items related to civic skills on the 1988 NAEP Civics Test averaged around 71%, a result strikingly similar to the results of the IEA Study (41). The researchers saw the results as troublesome, however, and suggested that this was an area that could be improved. The student populations may account for the researchers' differing interpretations; the IEA sample was composed of ninth-grade students, whereas the NAEP items analyzed by Niemi and Junn were based on twelfth-grade students' responses.

Discussing Political Issues. One very important civic skill cannot be assessed by a paper and pencil test—the ability to engage in discussions of public issues. Democracy is grounded in the belief that people can govern themselves, and such governance requires discussion. Citizens need discussion skills to persuade others to their point of view, as well as to listen to others whose ideas challenge their own. It is through the exchange of ideas that we are able to make conscious, deliberate decisions about public issues. Political philosopher Amy Guttman (2000, 75) contends that "Voting is a far more valuable act if preceded by open-minded argument where different sides not only represent their own views but also listen to others."

Although there have been no systematic studies of students' *ability* to discuss public issues, research does provide some evidence of the frequency and quality of public issues discussions in classrooms. On the 1998 NAEP Civics Assessment, the percentage of students in grades 4, 8, and 12 reporting that they discussed current events in their classes at least once a week ranged from 65% to 82%. Ten years earlier (1988), percentages of students in the same grades reporting that they discussed current events in their classes at least once a week ranged from 51% to 80%. Responses from the fourth grade students, which increased from 51% to 65%, accounts for most of the increase (Weiss, et al. 2001, 34-36).

In the IEA Civic Education Study, 85% of the U.S. students indicated that they are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues in civics-related classes, and about three-fourths said they felt free to disagree with their teachers and peers (Baldi et al. 2001, 34). When asked whether "teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions," however, only 69% indicated agreement, suggesting that while many students are encouraged to think for themselves, they are not necessarily thinking about important political and social issues (34). Students from households with 10 or fewer books gave less positive responses to these items (Baldi et al. 2001, 34), suggesting that students with fewer resources were less likely to perceive and/or experience a positive, supportive classroom environment.

Conover and Searing (2000) noticed similar differences in the degree to which students reported participating in class discussions. In their study of four diverse communities[4] across the United States, they found disparities in the frequency of class discussions. Secondary students from rural (68%) and suburban (50%) areas reported significantly more discussion of political issues in class than did students from urban (25%) and immigrant (34%) communities (106).

Reports of class discussions by students from all backgrounds vary considerably from researchers' observations of social studies classrooms. Most research indicates that students are unlikely to engage in in-depth public issues discussions in which ideas are exchanged, challenged, and refined (Kahne, Rodriquez, Smith, and Thiede 2000; Newmann 1990; Wilen and White 1991). The research suggests that when students are "discussing," they are often responding to teachers' questions in a recitation style, and when there are exchanges between the students and the teacher, students may be expressing their opinions, but they are not being challenged to defend those opinions.

Political Attentiveness. The engaged citizen is attentive to politics because he wants to know when events might affect his interests; the enlightened citizen is attentive because she wants to know when the principle tenets of democracy might be threatened. Attention to political activities, whether through newspaper reading, television viewing, or radio, is associated with higher levels of political knowledge (Niemi and Chapman 1999).

How attentive to politics are U.S. students? In 1999, Niemi and Chapman published a secondary analysis of the 1996 National Household Education Survey (NHES), in which 4,212 ninth- through twelfth-grade students from across the country were interviewed. One in 10 students reported reading about national news daily, and 40% reported watching or listening to national news reports on a daily basis (21). In the IEA Study, 14-year-olds were asked whether they "sometimes" or "often" were attentive to the news, a less stringent standard than that used in the NHES study. In both studies, the primary source of news for students was the television. Almost 80% of U.S. 14-year-olds in the IEA study reported "sometimes" or "often" watching news broadcasts on television (Baldi et al. 2001, 88), followed by reading the newspaper (53% - 62%), and listening to the radio (44%). Students also reported that they were more likely to read about national (62%) as opposed international issues (53%) in the newspaper (Baldi et al. 2001, 88).

Who do young people talk with about political issues? The 14-year-olds surveyed in the IEA Civic Education Study reported discussing political issues with parents and teachers more than with their peers (Torney-Purta

et al. 2001, 86). Hahn's (1998) comparative study of civic attitudes and behaviors indicated the same pattern: U.S. students were more likely to talk about political issues in school (84%), followed by at home with parents (63%), and then with peers (47%) (84-85). The 14-year-olds in the IEA Study said they were much more likely to discuss national issues as opposed to international issues. When students *do* discuss international issues, however, they are most likely to discuss them with their teachers (Baldi et al. 2001, 87).

Voting. Voting has long been considered the *sine qua non* of formal political participation in a democracy. Among the young people from the 28 countries involved in the IEA Civic Education Study, there was a moderate consensus that voting in every election was part of good citizenship (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, 80). In the United States, 83% of the 14-year-olds reported that voting in every election is "very important" or "somewhat important" to good citizenship (Baldi et al. 2001, 59). Other studies of adolescents, as well as those with adults, highlight the importance of voting as one of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Conover, Crewe, and Searing 1991; Conover and Searing 2000; Hahn 1998). Not surprisingly, the form of political participation most frequently cited by civics textbooks is voting (Riedel, Avery, Gonzales, Sullivan, and Williamson 2001, 29). In their analysis of three widely used secondary civics textbooks, Riedel et al. said "Participation is encouraged, but via one specific activity: students learn how to vote and why they should vote—so that their interests are represented within the government" (16). Little, if any, attention is given to voting as a means of ensuring that officeholders are accountable to the public, or of affirming one's commitment to democracy.

Participation in Difficult Activities. Are young people willing to engage in efforts *beyond* voting? Interestingly, across counties, the young people surveyed in the IEA Civic Education Study were more likely to favor social-movement conceptions of citizenship in comparison to more conventional ideas about citizenship. For example, they were more likely to say that it is "very important" or "somewhat important" that an adult who is a good citizen take part in activities promoting human rights and protecting the environment than that the citizen follow political issues in the media or join a political party (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, 80). In the United States, more than 80% of all students felt that involvement in community service, human rights issues, and activities to promote the environment were a part of good citizenship. Yet less than three-fourths of the students saw following political issues in the media (66%) and engaging in political discussion (58%) as important to citizenship (Baldi et al. 2001, 61, 59). As participatory activities require greater amounts of effort, students are less likely to say they think they will engage in them as adults. Only 28% thought they would

"probably" or "definitely" write a letter to the newspaper about social or political concerns, and fewer than one in five (18%) thought they would be a candidate for a local political office (Baldi et al. 2001, 90). This same pattern of responses (i.e., the higher the effort, the less likely students are to envision participation) is also seen in Hahn's (1998) study of young people.

In Conover and Searing's (2000) study of four demographically different communities in the United States, 83% of the students (the exact same percentage as in the IEA Civic Education Study) reported that it was a "duty" to vote in elections. Yet less than half of the students thought it was a duty to protest bad laws (49%), to participate actively in politics (29%), or to participate in public discussions (28%) (Conover and Searing 2000, 102). Clearly, students seem to have a "minimalist" conception of the responsibilities of citizenship.

Research on Civic Education and Orientation to Tolerance

Tolerance for diversity of beliefs really goes to the heart of a democracy. Democracy is based on the idea that people can govern themselves. Ideally, people make decisions about public issues after carefully deliberating on different positions. Listening to positions that differ from our own—even those positions we may find abhorrent—helps us to clarify our own views. When minority viewpoints are silenced, the process of deliberation is weakened, and we risk the tyranny of the majority. There are many instances in history when public opinion has supported undemocratic practices, and years later, after a "second sober thought," citizens rue the ideas and practices they once supported (e.g., McCarthyism during the 1950s).

Political tolerance—the willingness to extend basic civil liberties to those with whom you disagree—is a serious test of one's commitment to a democracy. For almost 50 years now, political scientists have tracked levels of political tolerance in the U.S. society. Studies indicate that over 90% of U.S. adolescents and adults profess support for freedom of speech, but when asked about groups they find extremist or harmful, support drops significantly. For example, when asked whether they would allow their least-liked political group to make a speech or hold a rally in their city, support among adults in one national study was 50% and 34%, respectively (Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus 1982, 65). In other words, support for diverse beliefs is strong in the abstract, but fragile when those beliefs are perceived as offensive or potentially dangerous.

Consistent with other studies, in the IEA Civic Education Study approximately 90% of the young people across countries said that it was "somewhat good" or "very good" for democracy when "everyone has the right to express their opinions freely." Only 78% of the students, however,

believed that the right to protest unjust laws was good for democracy (Baldi et al. 2001, 54, 56). In Hahn's (1998) study of young people in Denmark, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States, American and Danish students tended to be more tolerant than their counterparts. Still, only 35% of the students in Denmark and the United States were willing to allow their "least-liked group" to run for public office (170). In their four-community study of young people, Conover and Searing (2000) found that only 53% of high school students thought that "defending the rights of minorities" was a duty of citizenship; 80% of the adolescents interviewed did not consider tolerance a duty of citizenship; 40% of the urban students saw *no* connection between tolerance and citizenship (102-103). These findings suggest that young people have only a vague conception of the role of freedom of expression in a democracy.

Summary

The eight characteristics discussed previously are not the only attributes of democratic citizenship, but they are likely those around which most democratic theorists would reach consensus. How might we, then, characterize young people's political engagement and enlightenment? Young people tend to have a reasonable understanding of the "structures and functions of government." This is probably the most important contribution of the traditional civics curriculum. They are also likely to have a good grasp of the basic principles of democracy; they recognize what is good for a democracy (e.g., "Everyone has the right to express their opinions freely"), and what might not bode as well (e.g., "One company owns all the newspapers"). When pressed, however, they are unlikely to be able to move beyond very basic democratic principles, or to understand the connections among complex political concepts. Their knowledge of political organizations is thin; although they are familiar with the concept of a political party, they do not appear to have an understanding of the ideological underpinnings of U.S. political parties. Their ability to interpret political information presented in charts, graphs, and tables is better than their international counterparts, but still found wanting. They allow superficial discussion of politics—e.g., stating one's opinion—to pass as political discussion.

An impressive number of students believe that voting is one of the duties of a "good citizen," but anyone who has watched young people's participation in the electoral process must ask: what happened on the way to the polls? In the 2000 Presidential election, only 36% of 18-24-year-olds voted—the lowest percentage of any age group.[5] Participation in "difficult" activities, such as letter writing, protesting an unjust law, and signing a petition, are not activities in which today's young people see themselves engaged. While young people profess support for freedom of expression,

similar to adults, they are less likely to support those rights for people or groups with whom they vehemently disagree. Basically, freedom of speech is fine until it violates their core beliefs. They are more likely to read national as opposed to international news, and if they discuss international issues, it is most likely to be with their teachers in school. And finally, although young people are laudably interested in environmental and human rights issues, they do not seem to see these issues as political issues. Given these findings, we turn now to our second primary question: what are the implications of recent research in civic education for civics teachers and teacher educators?

Implications for Civics Teachers and Teacher Educators

One of the patterns that emerges across most of the research on young people and citizenship is the fragility of students' understanding. Students know the "slogans of democracy," such as "freedom of expression" and "majority rule," and some of the political actors, such as the Democratic and Republican political parties, but they do not have a good grasp of how these concepts relate to the sustenance of a democracy. They are fairly likely to attend to national news on television, but less likely to read about current events in the newspaper. Their interest and attention to international news is modest at best. They believe that voting is an important part of being a good citizen, but they are less likely to believe that they will participate in some of the more difficult political activities as adults, such as writing a letter to the newspaper. And although they are interested in human rights and environmental issues, they do not appear to see them as political issues.

The lack of depth that characterizes young people's civic engagement and enlightenment is reflective of the civics curriculum as well. Analyses of civics and government textbooks typically comment on their superficial coverage of important concepts, as well as the bland presentation of political issues and processes (Avery and Simmons 2000/2001; Carroll et al. 1987).

What are the implications for teacher educators? ***First, and most important, preservice teachers need to get extensive practice in facilitating class discussions about controversial social and political issues.*** I am convinced that young people are unlikely to achieve any depth of understanding of significant political concepts without engaging in political discussions. Student engagement in discussions of controversial social and political issues, in classrooms where teachers purposefully create a supportive and open climate for discussion, has been linked to higher levels of student political knowledge, tolerance, efficacy, and interest (Conover and Searing 2000; Ehman 1980b; Hahn 1998; Niemi and Junn 1998; Torney, Oppenheim,

and Farnen 1975; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). These studies have been conducted in a variety of contexts, and over a 30-year time span, suggesting that the finding is not spurious.

Conover and Searing (2000) view the ability to engage in political discussions as part of one's "social capital." Participation in regular class discussions helps students develop skills in analyzing issues, formulating and defending positions, and listening to others. These skills, less likely to be fostered outside of the classroom, are an important resource when students enter the more formal political sphere.

In a well-structured class discussion, students often come to appreciate the complexity of public issues. They are less likely to categorize political positions as "good" or "bad," "pro" or "con." They recognize that most significant political issues are more nuanced. All of these are important skills for active, participatory citizenship. It is likely that the more one has developed these skills ("social capital"), the more likely one is to use them as an adult citizen.

Facilitating in-depth discussions about controversial social and political issues, however, requires skills that many educators have not developed (Parker 2001). As recent research suggests, the very concept of a "class discussion" is quite complex. Parker and Hess (2001) suggest three different types of discussion: deliberation, seminar, and conversation. Deliberation is most appropriate when students are discussing issues of public policy and the goal is to understand and then select from several alternatives (e.g., What should be the role of the U.S. in promoting human rights abroad?). Seminars are most appropriate when the goal is for students to understand a text (e.g., What does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights mean?), and a conversation most appropriate when students need to reach an agreement on goals (e.g., What kind of presentation do we want to give?). For our purposes, deliberation and seminars are particularly relevant. If a teacher's goal is to increase students' tolerance of diverse viewpoints, deliberation would be the appropriate mode of discussion. To help students understand complex democratic concepts, however, seminars could be conducted around primary source documents such as the U.S. Constitution, Martin Luther King's Letter from Birmingham City Jail, or the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments.

Helping presevice teachers develop skills in facilitating class discussions seems a daunting task; one of the primary concerns of preservice teachers is classroom management (Jones 1996, 504), and a class discussion, in comparison to more teacher-directed activities, has greater potential behavior problems. But some methods, such as the structured academic controversy developed by Johnson and Johnson (1979, 1989, 1995), provide a format that beginning teachers and their students often need when first

engaging in controversial issue discussions. For example, suppose students were given the following question for value inquiry: Should the United States trade with countries that have poor human rights records? The teacher divides the class into heterogeneous groups of four. Two persons in each group are assigned the pro position, while the other two research the con position. Typically, the teacher suggests readings that will help students develop a given position, and encourages students to explore additional resources. Students outline their position and plan ways to advocate it to the opposing pair. Each pair presents arguments for their position, while the opposing pair listens, takes notes, and asks questions for clarification. The pairs then switch sides and present the opposing side's view. In the final phase, students abandon their "positions" and try to reach a group consensus on the issue based on the merits of the arguments presented.

The structured controversy format gives the preservice teachers the "control" in class they may feel they need. Extensive research on the effects of structured controversy suggests that participants develop more positive attitudes toward conflict, demonstrate higher levels of moral reasoning and perspective-taking, and develop more positive attitudes toward working with individuals from different racial and ethnic groups (Johnson and Johnson 1979, 1989, 1995).

A recent study by Hess (2002) also suggests that skill in leading controversial issues discussions is not limited to "star" teachers. After conducting in-depth observations of three teachers who were highly skilled in leading controversial issues discussions, Hess found that the teachers were not the "wizards" she had first imagined, but rather teachers with "well-thought-out and thorough lesson plans informed by sophisticated conceptions of the purposes of discussion" (39).

Second, methods instructors should give preservice teachers assignments that help them understand how young people think about social and political concepts and issues. For example, the concept of voting is particularly interesting because of the gap between students' belief that voting is an important part of being a good citizen and actual voting practices as adults. Preservice teachers could interview their students about the concept of voting. Why is it important to vote? What difference will it make? Suppose I know my candidate will not win, why should I vote? Children are told that "every vote counts" and that is why it is important to vote, but rarely do they explore the ways in which voting works as a mechanism of accountability in a democracy, or acts to affirm the democratic way of life.

The disparity between students' support for abstract democratic principles, such as freedom of expression, and these principles' application in difficult situations is another area that could be explored by preservice teachers.

Almost 10 years ago, I conducted interviews with high school students in which they were presented with civil liberties issues. One of my findings was that "tolerant" and "intolerant" students have a different understanding of such issues. For example, intolerant students were more likely than tolerant students to envision violent outcomes if their least-liked group were granted certain civil liberties, such as making a speech or holding a public rally. Intolerant students assumed the people in their least-liked group, for example members of the Ku Klux Klan, joined the group because they were "stupid, bad, or evil." Tolerant students, on the other had, attributed individuals' participation in such groups to external factors, such as family influence or community socialization (Avery 1992). If preservice teachers were to conduct similar interviews, they would most likely structure their class discussions about civil liberties issues to take their findings into account. By talking with young people about their understanding of basic democratic concepts such as voting and tolerance, preservice teachers can learn the limits of students' understandings, and develop lessons based on that knowledge.

Third, methods instructors should help beginning teachers understand that the development of civic identity is a dynamic process that takes place in a social and cultural context. This is particularly apparent in the consistent differences between ethnic groups and social classes in terms of political knowledge and attitudes, as well as differences in students' school experiences. For example, lower socio-economic students consistently demonstrate lower levels of civic knowledge; these same students, however, report a less open and supportive classroom climate and fewer opportunities to discuss social and political issues than do their counterparts (Baldi et al. 2001, xvi, 34). Can this be changed?

In the 1980s, David and Myra Sadker became the leading advocates for gender equity in the classroom. Their research findings (Sadker and Sadker 1985), now well established in the literature, indicated that males and females were treated differently in the classroom. Males tended to receive more teacher attention and encouragement than did female students, particularly with regard to academic matters. As a result of their research, many teachers analyzed their own teaching practices, and they made conscious efforts to achieve gender fairness in the classroom. No doubt there are still gender inequities in public school classrooms today, but in contrast to 20 years ago, many teachers are aware of the research and actively work to reduce gender bias in their classrooms.

Could similar efforts be made in addressing differential treatment on the basis of socioeconomic class? The challenge is much greater than with gender inequities. U.S. citizens are typically loath to recognize class bias, and while most teachers have males and females in their classes, many

teachers work with classes that are relatively homogeneous in terms of socioeconomic class. Still, if preservice social studies teachers are to become aware of the links between socioeconomic status, classroom climate, and civic attitudes and behaviors, it will most likely be in their social studies methods classes. Our preservice teachers need to understand the role they can play in perpetuating these disparities, *or* in increasing *all* students' social capital.

Fourth, methods instructors should help preservice teachers analyze civics textbooks and materials. Several studies suggest that a curriculum specifically designed to promote a deeper understanding of political concepts can have an impact on students (Avery, Bird, Johnstone, Sullivan, and Thalhammer 1992; Brody 1994; Goldenson 1978; Vontz, Metcalf, and Patrick 2000). But what conception of citizenship does the traditional civics textbook convey? What types of political participation are emphasized? How far does the text move beyond the structures and functions of government? To address these questions, preservice social studies teachers can conduct content analyses of their civics textbooks, much along the same lines as researchers have done, and then design a curriculum that takes into account the textbook's shortcomings. Civics teachers can, of course, then conduct the same exercise with their secondary students.

Fifth, preservice teachers should become familiar with basic methods and tools that help students see connections between and among concepts. Study after study has shown that students are familiar with the terms associated with democracy, but have difficulty putting them together in a coherent framework. Schema theory suggests that strategies such as concept mapping and graphic organizers can help students link existing knowledge with new knowledge (Torney-Purta 1991). Additionally, research by Sinatra et al. (1992) suggests that teachers should make explicit connections between political concepts (e.g., freedom of expression) and institutions (e.g., courts, media). They also noted that students' understanding of complex political concepts develops over time.

> Complex conceptual understandings cannot be adequately developed by simplistic explanations, such as those that characterize textbook presentations. Rather, the presentation of fundamental ideas, principles, and issues that underlie domains such as history and political science requires instructional activities that engage the learner in the active process of constructing meaning over a long period of time. (659-660)

Preservice teachers need to understand that "depth over breadth" is not just helpful, it is critical if students are to develop a deep understanding of complex political concepts.

Sixth, we need to consciously integrate international perspectives and issues into our methods courses. U.S. citizens are significantly less likely

to read about, express an interest in, discuss, and be knowledgeable about international as opposed to national issues. In an age that is distinguished by a profound social, cultural, and political interconnectedness, it is vital that U.S. citizens develop a better understanding of the world outside their borders. Demonstration lessons are standard fare in methods classes; teacher educators can make a deliberate decision to choose international issues as the subject matter with which to demonstrate various pedagogical methods. Students can also learn about and practice integrating global perspectives into their lesson plans.

I believe these six suggestions are specific enough to be helpful to those who are involved in the preparation of social studies teachers, and significant enough that if enacted, would make a contribution to beginning teachers' preparation programs. But while preservice programs are important to the beginning teacher's growth, research on teachers' professional development emphasizes the ongoing nature of teachers developing their pedagogical knowledge and skills (Elmore 1996; Smith, Lee, and Newmann 2001). Teacher educators can play a major role in helping practicing teachers periodically reflect on the ways in which their pedagogy, classroom climate, and school culture affects young citizens. There is a critical need for more research on the ways in which teacher education—both in terms of preservice and practicing teachers—can work with teachers to develop a more engaged and enlightened citizenry.

Notes

1. See, for example, *Curriculum Standards for Social Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies 1994), 39; Center for Civic Education, *National Standards for Civics and Government*, (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education 1994), 143.

2. Although I am aware that civic skills encompass much more than the ability to interpret information and engage in political discussion, I choose to limit it to these two areas because there is a substantial body of research in these areas and to engage in a lengthy list of civics skills could easily become unwieldy.

3. Only two questions related to political parties were asked of eighth graders, thereby precluding any generalizations. No questions related to political parties were asked of fourth graders.

4. The four communities included a rural farm community in Minnesota; an urban, blue-collar community in Philadelphia; a suburban community in North Carolina; and a Hispanic community in San Antonio.

5. For comparison purposes, the percentage of voters in other age groups ranged from 51% (25- to 34-year-olds) to 75% (65 to 74 years of age). See Jamieson, Annie, Hyon B. Shin, and Jennifer Day. *Current Population Reports: Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, February 2002).

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Civic and Economic Education: The Nexus

Margaret Stimmann Branson

When Robert Dahl's former students and professional colleagues gathered at Yale University to honor that premier political scientist, he told them that he had spent a lifetime investigating "the intersection of politics and economics." As a result of his lifelong investigation, Dahl said he was convinced, as was Aristotle, that only in a society in which relatively few citizens live in real poverty could there be a situation in which the mass of the population could intelligently participate in politics and develop the self-restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of demagogues. A society divided between a larger, impoverished, ill-educated mass and a small favored elite results either in oligarchy or in tyranny.

Robert Dahl is not the only scholar concerned with the linkage between politics and economics. Russell Hardin claims that "the largest and most compelling body of quasi-economic work" of the last two generations of scholars in political science "is broad studies of the relationship between political and economic development." That work is of singular importance because it "has given compelling answers to many questions about the workings and workability of democracy" (Hardin 2002, 183).

Neither Dahl nor Hardin said directly—but they might as well have said—that just as there is a connection between politics and economics, there also is—or ought to be—a connection between what students learn in their coursework in civics, government, and history and their coursework in economics. The case for making appropriate connections is made succinctly in *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education.*

> Political choices that confront citizens are replete with ideas—and choices—of economics. Citizens can scarcely make sense of policies advocated in print and on the airwaves by those within and outside of political institutions unless they have a basic grounding in economic ideas and issues. Economics may have been dubbed "the dismal science,"

> but ignorance of economics on the part of citizens called upon to judge the ideas, criticisms, warnings, policies, and proposals that swirl about them in public debate is more dismal by far. Like ignorance in general, ignorance of economics in today's world forms a prison from which citizens—if they are to be adequate judges of public discussion—must be given the tools to escape. (Center for Civic Education 1991, 184)

Legislation Promoting Civics and Economics

Two pieces of recent legislation by the Congress of the United States have spurred the study of civics and economics. Goals 2000: Educate America Act was passed in 1994, while the "No Child Left Behind Act" was passed in 2001.

One of the most important goals set forth in the Educate America Act is that "all students will leave grades 4, 8 and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including . . . civics and government . . . and economics . . . so that they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment."

To specify the nature of that "challenging subject matter," professional organizations have developed content standards. Content standards are explicit statements of "what students should know and be able to do" by the time they complete grades 4, 8 and 12. Content standards "indicate the ways of thinking, working, communicating, reasoning, and investigating and the most important and enduring ideas, concepts, issues, dilemmas, and knowledge essential to the discipline that should be taught and learned in school."

The *National Standards for Civics and Government* were developed over a two-year time span by the Center for Civic Education, with support from the Office of Educational Research (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education and The Pew Charitable Trusts. Successive drafts were widely distributed both nationally and internationally to political scientists, teachers, school administrators, and to civic, professional, and business organizations. Elected government officials and their staffs also critiqued the proposed standards. All told, several thousand persons took part in the National Civics Standards-setting process. Subsequently, states have made use of the National Civics Standards by adopting, adapting, and modifying them to meet their own needs.

The *National Content Standards in Economics* were developed by the National Council on Economic Education in partnership with the National Association of Economic Educators Foundation for Teaching Economics. The *Standards in Economics* went through about ten drafts which were widely circulated for comments and advice for improvement.

The *National Content Standards in Economics* specify several kinds of economic knowledge that students should have gained by the time they finish the twelfth grade:

> ***First***, they should understand basic economic concepts and be able to reason logically about key economic issues that affect their lives as workers, consumers, and citizens, so they can avoid errors that are common among persons who do not understand economics.
> ***Second***, they should know some pertinent facts about the American economy, including its size and the current rates of unemployment, inflation and interest.
> ***Third***, they should understand that there are differing views on some economic issues. This is especially true for topics such as the appropriate size of government in a market economy, how and when the federal government should try to fight unemployment and inflation, and how and when the government should try to promote economic growth. (National Council on Economic Education 1997, xi)

The second significant piece of legislation respecting the teaching and learning of civics and economics is Public Law 107-110 enacted by the 107th Congress and signed by President George W. Bush. It is better known by its short title, the "No Child Left Behind Act of 2001." The overall purpose of this law is "to close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind."

Subpart 3 of the No Child Left Behind Act deals specifically with civic education, but it is attentive to the interrelationship of civic and economic education. Section 2342 of the Act sets forth its legislative intent in this fashion:

It is the purpose of this subpart--

(1) to improve the quality of civics and government education by educating students about the history and principles of the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rights;
(2) to foster civic competence and responsibility; and
(3) to improve the quality of civic education and economic education through cooperative civic education and economic education exchange programs with emerging democracies.

Economics and the Study of the Constitution

That the *National Standards for Civics and Government* call for extensive and intensive study of the Constitution of the United States is not surprising. Content in the Civics Standards is organized by five major, overarching questions. They are:

- What are civic life, politics, and government?
- What are the foundations of the American political system?
- How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- What are the roles of the citizen in American democracy?

All five of those organizing questions deal with "the history and principles" of the Constitution as called for in the No Child Left Behind Act. Questions II and III, however, require students to consider more deeply the purposes, values and principles of American democracy manifested not only at the national level but at the state and local levels as well. Question V focuses specifically on the rights and responsibilities of citizens along with the civic dispositions or traits of public and private character important to the preservation and improvement of American democracy.

For more than 200 years, Americans have looked to their Constitution and Bill of Rights as the quintessential statement of their nation's values and of their political rights. They are less accustomed to thinking of the U.S. Constitution as an economic document. Even so, as economists point out:

> Constitutions are economic documents as well as political documents. This is certainly true of the Constitution of the United States. Our nation's founders believed that economic freedom as well as political freedom are essential for national prosperity and growth. Accordingly, they included numerous provisions in the Constitution that support and encourage the operation of a market economy. Thus, as the basic "law of the land," the U.S. Constitution defines the essential features of our economy. (Dick, Blais, and Moore 1998, 3)

Obviously, extended discussion of the economic values and assumptions inherent in the United States Constitution and how they intersect with its political values and assumptions is impossible here. A very brief summation needs to be offered, however, even at the risk of oversimplification.

Four specific economic values that are embedded in the spare, matter of fact prose of the Constitution deserve special mention. The first of these is the right to private property. That right is assumed, in the Lockean tradition, to emanate from the law of nature itself; the right to property is not a concession by those governing to the governed. Along with the right to life and the right to liberty, the right to property is inherent and unalienable. Government's responsibility, its very purpose, therefore, is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to secure their persons and property against infringement or violence.

A second economic value implicit in the Constitution is support for private entrepreneurial activity. That support is so obvious that one scholar has exclaimed, "If the Constitution implied a commitment to private property, it positively exuded support for private entrepreneurial activity. . . . The Framers sought to create an ordered, stable environment in which private economic activity (itself necessarily unstable) could take place" (Lurie 1988, 2). One way in which the Framers did that was by assuring that the new union of states would not be damaged by interstate rivalries.

A second way was by conferring certain powers on the national government which would make possible "the release of energy" and "the enlargement of Men's freedoms," to use the phrases made famous by the great legal historian Willard Hurst. The Constitution "releases energy" and "enlarges freedom" through provisions which provide for defining the national economic interest in relations with other nations, regulating interstate trade, creating a reliable money supply, securing copyright and patent rights, enacting uniform bankruptcy statutes, granting corporate charters, disposing of public lands, taxing individual and corporate wealth, and protecting the sanctity of private contracts.

All of those measures have proved to be of importance in the economic political life of the nation. However, former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has singled out the Commerce Clause of the Constitution as particularly significant:

> It is difficult to find words more significant than the eleven key words of the Commerce Clause. Article I Section 8 which gave Congress the power "to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states. . ." That clause created a free trade zone—a common market—that became the foundation of a private enterprise system of unprecedented potential. . . . In its second century the Commerce Clause has been the focus of many continuing constitutional struggles. However . . . that common market became the keystone of our private enterprise system. The freedoms created by our Constitution unleashed the energies of a whole people in a way that had never been witnessed in all history . . . And one need only speculate on how a common market in 1789, instead of 1992 . . . would have affected the subsequent history of Europe. Increased trade and commerce have always improved life for both workers and proprietors. . . .
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> Without those eleven key words we might have experienced the discord the European Economic Community has struggled to overcome in the more than 30 years since the framework of its common market was established. The miracle of our Commerce Clause enabled us to grow from a nation of three million people on the edge of wilderness in 1789 to a world power by the 20th century. (Burger 1988, 59)

A third value of especial significance which is embedded in the Constitution is the rule of law, the general principle that the government and the governed alike are subject to law. The rule of law implies limitation on the power of government officials, whether they are legislators, executives, or judges; or whether they are police officers, prosecutors, school principals, or teachers. Rule of law provides safeguards or checks against abuse of power or of law, as well as penalties for those who abuse their power or transgress law. Rule of law, therefore, means that the citizen can appeal from the whims and vagaries of officials, however high or low their position.

The United States Constitution is at once a political and an economic document. It asserts the value of both political freedom and economic freedom. Therefore, if citizens are to be "constitutionally literate," they

need to understand each of these dimensions, as well as their relationship to one another. If preservice teachers of civics and government are to be well-prepared, they must acquire knowledge and skills needed to teach relationships of economics to the political system.

The Current Status of Economic Education

Given the necessity of economic literacy for informed, effective and responsible citizenship, it is appropriate to ask about the current status of economic education in the United States. At present we do know that:

- 48 states and the District of Columbia have standards for economics.
- 22 states now test the economic knowledge and skills of students. Economic items, however, are often imbedded in more comprehensive social studies assessments. Nine more states are now preparing to test in economics.
- 13 states require an economics course for graduation. That course tends to be a one semester 12th-grade requirement paired with a one semester course in American Government.
- Only 47 percent of high school seniors have taken an economics course before graduation. An additional 10 percent of high school students take courses such as American Government and Economics, that may include substantial civics as well as economics (National Center for Education Statistics 2001).
- Teacher background in economics is often limited. Only 11 states require economics as part of the teacher certification process. The average social studies teacher takes only four hours of economics in college and those are the teachers most likely to teach separate economics courses (Walstad 2001).

A better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of economics education is in the offing. A National Assessment of Educational Progress in Economics (NAEP) is scheduled for 2006. This measure of twelfth graders' knowledge and skills in economics is a first. Never before has there been a national assessment of economics. Preparation of the assessment has been contracted to the National Council on Economic Education, The Council of Chief State School Officers, and the American Institutes of Research. Some 10,000 students in 400 public and private schools will be tested, and their teachers and school administrators will be interviewed to obtain additional insights into the status of economic education.

An issues paper concerning the National Assessment of Economic Education has been prepared by Dennis Placone of Clemson University and Stephen Buckles of Vanderbilt University. It is available from the National Council on Economic Education's website: <www.NCEE.net>.

Conclusion

There is ample evidence of the importance of both civic and economic literacy on the part of all citizens. Unfortunately, both civics and economics are given insufficient attention today in many, if not most, schools. This situation needs to be corrected. Systematic attention to both civics and government and economics needs to occur in every grade from kindergarten through high school. Students should be helped to understand why and how the two disciplines are connected. And the connections between economics and civics need to be emphasized in the preservice education and professional development of social studies teachers. As the economist Paul Samuelson put it:

> All your life—from cradle to gave and beyond—you will run up against the truths of economics. As a voter, you will have to make decisions on issues—inflation, unemployment, or protectionism—that just can't be understood until you've mastered the rudiments of this subject. Earning your lifetime income involves economics. So does spending that income as a consumer. In the important task of saving and investing—the prudent handling of the nest egg that won't handle itself—economics won't guarantee to make you a genius. But without economics the dice are simply loaded against you. (Samuelson and Nordhaus 1995)

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Using United States Supreme Court Cases to Promote Civic Learning in Social Studies Teacher Education

Thomas S. Vontz and Robert S. Leming

In his 2001 keynote address at the R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education in Indianapolis, R. Freeman Butts emphasized three U.S. Supreme Court cases—*Everson v. Board of Education*, 1974; *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 1925; and *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954—to derive and underscore principles important for civic learning in the education of social studies teachers.[1] According to Butts, Supreme Court cases "provide examples of the way history and contemporary public issues affecting educational policy can be woven together in a core course on civic learning in social studies teacher education" (Butts 2001, 9).

This chapter explores further Professor Butts' assertion and examines the value of using selected Supreme Court cases to foster civic learning in the preparation of social studies teachers and in the education of citizens. The chapter connects Supreme Court cases and the issues and principles that can be derived from them to the theory and practice of democratic citizenship, explores the practical implications of their use in the education of social studies teachers and in the schools, examines the current role of Supreme Court cases in the K-12 curriculum, and provides criteria for selecting Supreme Court cases to further civic learning.

Supreme Court Cases and Civic Learning: Theoretical Foundations

Given the wide-range of content and materials available to teachers and university instructors to foster civic learning, do Supreme Court cases deserve a prominent role in the preparation of social studies teachers or in the K-12 curriculum? After careful examination of the literature on the theory and practice of democratic citizenship, our answer is yes. Supreme

Court cases deserve a special emphasis in the preparation of social studies teachers and in the K-12 curriculum for a variety of important reasons.[2] Supreme Court cases can be used to further develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions aspiring social studies teachers need to become effective civic educators and students need to become competent citizens.

After an extensive review of the research literature, John J. Patrick constructed a four-component model of education for citizenship in a democracy (see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1).[3] Patrick's model, which includes the commonly accepted categories of civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions, was derived from ideas and principles that can be found in widely accepted works on education for democratic citizenship such as *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Bahmueller and Quigley 1991), *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Center for Civic Education 1991), and *An International Framework for Education in Democracy* (Center for Civic Education 2003). As a synthesis and extension of leading works on civic education for democracy, Patrick's model is an appropriate tool to analyze the extent to which teaching with and about Supreme Court cases may foster civic learning among pre-service social studies teachers and pre-collegiate students.

Students and teachers can gain an understanding of important constitutional principles and the issues associated with them from cases that come before the Supreme Court. The civic knowledge component of Patrick's model includes six concepts at the core of education for citizenship in a democracy: 1) Representative Democracy, 2) Constitutionalism, 3) Rights, 4) Citizenship, 5) Civil Society, and 6) Market Economy (see Table 1.2 in Chapter 1).[4] Selected Court cases could be used to develop an understanding of each of these concepts. Certain cases would highlight several concepts and ideas simultaneously. Competent teachers could use *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), for example, to make connections to concepts in every category except "Market Economy (Free and Open Economic System)." In particular, Court cases highlight the conflicting values and principles that are often at the core of many public issues such as majority rule and majority rights; liberty and equality; liberty and order; individual interests and the common good; and unity and diversity. Thus, pre-service teachers might learn about these core concepts in democracy and how to teach about them by using Supreme Court cases.

These core concepts and the ideas associated with them represent both the democratic liberal and civic republican spheres of democratic citizenship in the United States of America. The political theory underlying democracy in the United States combines civic republicanism and democratic liberalism to form a new hybrid, "republican liberalism" or "civic liberalism" (Spragens 1999; Dagger 1997).[5] Various Supreme Court cases could serve as examples

of this combination of democratic political theory as it is applied to cases and controversies in American constitutional law. Cases that come before the Court often require Justices to balance the conflicting ideas and principles associated with these important theories of democracy (e.g., self-interest intension with the common good).

The use of Supreme Court cases to teach core content of democratic citizenship is compatible with Toni Marie Massaro's *Constitutional Literacy: A Core Curriculum for a Multicultural Nation* (Massaro 1993). Analyses and evaluation of conflicting principles and claims evident in Supreme Court cases has the potential to yield what Toni Marie Massaro refers to as "constitutional literacy." Constitutional literacy includes "not only recognition of constitutional terms, constitutional dilemmas, and historical assumptions on which the Constitution arguably rests but also recognition of the paradox on which the document is based, its dynamism, and its multiple contested interpretations" (Massaro 1993, 153). The kind of constitutional literacy Massaro describes can best be achieved through analyses of the conflicting principles and ideas that come from Court cases. Although some Court cases would better exemplify Massaro's "teach the constitutional conflicts" approach to civic learning, constitutional conflict is prominent in cases that come before the Supreme Court.

Massaro's constitutional literacy curriculum, which features decisions of the Supreme Court, would also help to resolve the "dilemma of our differences." In other words, Court cases often feature simultaneously both the diversity or pluralism of American society and the common principles that bind us together as one nation.

> An American education should render its students constitutionally literate in both traditional and nontraditional respects. The graduate should be literate in the sense of being able to read and understand the arguments of others, to think logically and critically, and to express her own ideas in a logical grammatical, and organized fashion. She also should have a historical framework into which she can place events and ideas, including those relevant to constitutional principles, and must master specific "constitutional facts"—such as what separation of powers and federalism mean—defined according to traditional but demanding criteria. Finally, however, she should understand that a range of conflicts animates constitutional doctrine and that Americans have divided and still do divide over matters of equality, the freedoms of expression and of religion, and other aspects of democratic life. These conflicts, moreover, should be defined capriciously, critically, and provisionally, such that they remain subject to perpetual reformulation and reconsideration. Constitutional literacy, so defined, would welcome multicultural critiques of our conventions, as well as the wide range of other critical responses to our ongoing struggle to balance pluralism and unity within a heterogeneous nation. (Massaro 1993, 146)

In addition to using Supreme Court cases to teach the issues and principles of constitutional conflict, Court cases could also be used to help students

develop a rich understanding of the role of the Supreme Court as an important institution in American democracy (Elkin and Soltan 1999).[6] Through analysis and discussion of Court cases, students could develop an understanding of 1) the various ways justices interpret and read the Constitution, 2) the arguments for and against various methods of interpretation, 3) the importance of precedent in constitutional law, 4) the legal reasoning that is applied to various parts of the Constitution, 5) the power of judicial review, and, 6) the changing role of the Supreme Court throughout American history, including its function as a countermajoritarian institution in American democracy. *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), for example, could be used by competent teachers to raise a variety of questions and issues about the proper role of the Supreme Court in American constitutional democracy.

Examination and critique of the events, issues, and contending arguments that emanate from Supreme Court cases also promote a variety of cognitive civic skills. Social studies teachers or instructors of social studies methods courses could use nearly any landmark Court case to develop all of the cognitive civic skills listed in Patrick's model (see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1):

- Identifying and describing information about political/civic life
- Analyzing and explaining information about political/civic life
- Synthesizing and explaining information about political/civic life
- Evaluating, taking, and defending positions on public events and issues
- Thinking critically about conditions of political/civic life
- Thinking constructively about how to improve political/civic life

To effectively utilize a Supreme Court case to foster civic learning, social studies teachers must be prepared to engage their students in each of these important cognitive civic skills.

Used in particular ways, Supreme Court cases could also promote many of the participatory civic skills listed in Patrick's model. Social studies teachers or university instructors who use Supreme Court cases as the basis for class discussions or cooperative learning activities could help their students develop many participatory skills while at the same time learning content at the core of civic education for democracy (see Table 1.2 in Chapter 1):

- Interacting with other citizens to promote personal and common interests
- Monitoring public events and issues
- Deliberating and making decisions about public policy issues

Class discussions and the participatory civic skills that flow from them are an integral part of civic learning. Learning to facilitate discussions that lead to the development of participatory civic skills is an important aspect of the pre-service preparation of social studies teachers. At the 2001 R.

Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, Walter Parker (2001) distinguished two kinds of discussion important for democratic citizenship: seminar and deliberation. Seminars focus on students developing a greater understanding of "select texts," which are primary or secondary sources that contain "powerful issues, ideas, and values" (Parker 2001, 112). Deliberations are discussions that aim for the participants to make reasoned judgments about "what 'we' should do" (Parker 2001, 112).

Scores of Supreme Court cases could serve as the focus of a seminar or a deliberation. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District* (1969), for example, contains powerful issues and ideas (e.g., freedom of speech in a school environment) and values (e.g., liberty of the individual and promotion of the common good) that could be clarified and reinforced in a seminar, or students could be asked to deliberate and make a reasoned judgment about the extent to which and under what circumstances "we" should protect students' rights to free expression in the school environment.

The use of Supreme Court cases and the development of the historical context surrounding them is consistent with the kind of "deliberative discussion" proposed by Lynn Nelson and Frederick Drake (2001) at the 2001 R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education. Nelson and Drake contend that deliberative discussions should serve as the foundation for the teaching of history. Their model of history teaching and learning involves first-order and second-order deliberations. First-order deliberations focus on the careful analysis of a seminal document in history. During first-order deliberations student are asked to suspend judgments about the issues involved in the document, identify the relevant issues, and place the document and issues in historical context. Then, during second-order deliberations, students and their teacher "consider larger issues related to history's vital themes and narratives and standards" (Nelson and Drake 2001, 149). Eventually, the issues are placed into historical context and students are given the opportunity to evaluate various perspectives on the issues and make reasoned judgments about them. Supreme Court cases afford students and prospective teachers the opportunities to practice the kind of document-based deliberation proposed by Nelson and Drake to place a seminal document in historical context.

For Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (1996, 1), deliberation is not only a participatory civic skill; it is a "conception of democracy that secures a place for moral discussion in political life." Their theory of democracy elevates the importance of deliberation as a way of working through moral disagreements, which is inevitably and inescapably a part of the landscape of democratic politics. Although Gutmann and Thompson do not focus on the institutional changes that could facilitate more deliberation in American democracy, the implications of their theory for education seem clear:

democratic citizens must be better prepared to deliberate about areas of moral and political disagreement. Helping students deliberate about the moral and political disagreements present in many Supreme Court decisions (e.g., abortion, affirmative action, vouchers) seems to support their conception of democratic citizenship.

Education for democratic citizenship must also focus on civic dispositions, which are traits of public and private character that motivate citizens to exercise the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship. Supreme Court cases can be used to foster important civic dispositions among preservice social studies teachers and precollegiate students. In particular, Court cases could be used to develop the following dispositions listed in Patrick's model (see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1).

- Promoting the common good
- Affirming the common and equal humanity and dignity of each person
- Respecting, protecting, and exercising rights possessed equally by each person

Many scholars and commentators in the field of civic education have stressed the importance of teaching public or civic values and the inherent tensions between some of them (Butts 1989; Elkin and Soltan 1999; Kaltsounis 1990; Massaro 1993; Levitt and Longstreet 1993; Lockwood 1985; Lockwood and Harris 1985; Wright 1993). According to these advocates, developing an understanding of the values (and the tensions between them) that underlie democratic society and the Constitution should be at the core of civic learning. One of the leading advocates of this position has been R. Freeman Butts (1989, 280):

> How are citizens to be prepared to judge the merits of public policies in domestic and foreign affairs as conducted by officials in office or as proposed by candidates for office? How are citizens to be enabled to judge the tangled web of one kind of morality in public talk and another kind of ethics in personal practice? In the long run this can best be achieved only by careful judgments informed by a reasoned historical perspective and by a meaningful conception of the basic values underlying our constitutional order.

In his "Twelve Tables of Civism for the Modern American Republic," Butts (1989) proposes an emphasis on the values that underlie the *obligations of citizenship* such as justice, equality, authority, participation, truth, patriotism and the *rights of citizenship* such as freedom, diversity, privacy, due process, property, human rights. Butts urges the careful examination of public issues and controversies that expose civic values, conflicts between them, and their legitimate or corrupted forms (e.g., anarchy is the corrupted form of liberty).

Supreme Court cases are well suited to the kind of civic learning proposed by Butts and others that emphasize the importance of civic or public values

in education for democratic citizenship. Numerous Supreme Court cases could be used to help students develop an understanding of 1) civic values at the core of American democracy; 2) the manifestation of civic values in democratic institutions (Elkin and Soltan 1999); 3) the inherent conflicts that occur among and between civic values; and 4) the use of civic values to make decisions about public issues. Teachers could use *Goss v. Lopez* (1975) to help students develop an understanding of important civic values and the conflicts among them (e.g., due process of law, freedom, authority, participation, property), how those values manifest themselves in our institutions (e.g., the Supreme Court, the public school), and how to use the civic values to make decisions about an important public issue (i.e., the due process rights of students who are suspended for more than ten days).

Although teachers could develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship using a variety of content and methods, few offer the drama and controversy of Supreme Court cases. Supreme Court cases involve the application of constitutional principles to real-life situations, which are by definition controversial. The controversial issues that are at the heart of many Supreme Courts could be political, popular, or legal and often motivate student learning and stimulate discussion (Croddy 2002). To maximize the human drama of Supreme Court cases, which is often lacking from textbook treatment of Supreme Court cases, teachers should help students "map out the road to the Court" for the participants involved in a particular case (Arbetman 2002, 46).[7]

The issues that come before the Supreme Court also help students to connect the theory and practice of democracy. The values and principles at the core of constitutional democracy in the United States that are manifest in the vague and ambiguous language of the Constitution are applied to real people and settings in Supreme Court cases. When students study *Hazlewood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988), for example, students are able to make connections between abstract principles (liberty of the individual and providing for the common good), the language of the First Amendment (abridging the freedom of speech or of the press), and real people (high school students) involved in real-life situations such as producing the school newspaper. The principles and values at the core of American democracy and the U.S. Constitution are made more meaningful for students when they are applied to an actual case or controversy.

The controversial issues that are the subject of many Supreme Court cases could become the basis for what Diana Hess has referred to as Controversial Public Issues (CPI) discussions. CPI's are "unresolved questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement" (Hess 2001, 87). Even though the Supreme Court has rendered a decision on a particular case, the issues often remain controversial and relevant to education for

democratic citizenship. Many Supreme Court decisions and the issues before the Court, such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and *Bush v. Gore* (2000) spark heated controversy and remain for many Americans "unresolved." We underscore Hess's admonitions, however, about the misconceptions of many teacher education students for using discussions or controversial issues: 1) the romantic notion that discussions are natural and spontaneous and therefore require little if any planning or 2) the controversy surrounding the issue will make it easy to stimulate a worthwhile discussion so little prior planning is necessary. These common misconceptions of social studies teacher education students need to be exposed and eliminated to effectively use CPI discussions with or without Supreme Court cases.

The study of Supreme Court cases helps preservice teachers and students in the schools develop an understanding of the language, reasoning, and history of constitutional interpretation in the United States of America. This knowledge enables citizens to have access to the debates and discourse surrounding constitutional conflict. In a democracy, judges are not the sole interpreters of the Constitution; rather, they share the responsibility of constitutional interpretation with "other government officials, academic commentators, journalists, and ordinary citizens" (Murphy, Fleming, and Barber 1995, 1401).[8] Citizens who understand how to read and analyze decisions of the Supreme Court have access to arguments on various sides of a constitutional conflict, can identify principles and values at the core of American constitutional democracy, and, perhaps most importantly, can understand and appreciate the difficulty and importance of constitutional interpretation.[9] As Sanford Levison (1992, 389) has aptly noted, "The United States Constitution can meaningfully structure our polity if and only if every public official—and ultimately every citizen—becomes a participant in the conversation about constitutional meaning, as opposed to the pernicious practice of identifying the Constitution with the decisions of the Supreme Court or even of courts and judges more generally."

One conception of democratic citizenship that is well-established in the research literature is known as enlightened political engagement (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996; Parker 2001). Enlightened political engagement is a construct that subsumes aspects of political knowledge, intellectual and participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996). Democratic citizenship as enlightened political engagement connects political engagement with democratic enlightenment. Political engagement is characterized by political interest, political knowledge, and the requisite skills and dispositions that enable and motivate democratic participation in civic and political life. Democratic enlightenment is characterized by recognition of the shared norms, rules, and values of

membership in the democratic polity such as procedural fairness (i.e., due process), freedom of thought and association, and equality of opportunity to participate. Together, these two terms form a rich conception of democratic citizenship:

> Thus democratic citizenship as enlightened political engagement means that citizens are capable of pursuing political preferences within the framework of a polity in which there are shared interests in protecting both the normative goals of fairness and equality and the democratic process of free expression. (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 19, 1996)

Supreme Court cases can be used to help preservice social studies teachers or precollegiate students develop an understanding of the characteristics that define both political engagement and democratic enlightenment. In other words, Supreme Court cases could be used to help students recognize, define, and pursue their own political interests (political engagement) while at the same time helping them to understand the democratic values and norms that limit their self-interest (democratic enlightenment).

Supreme Court Cases and Civic Learning in Social Studies Teacher Education

Supreme Court cases, like other primary documents available to teachers in the social studies, depend upon competent and knowledgeable teachers to bring them to life and maximize their impact on the civic development of students. Supreme Court cases should be used to help preservice social studies teachers develop both the content and methods of instruction that support education for democracy. Although a variety of teaching methods may be used to teach the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship, the use of Supreme Court cases, like other content at the core of civic learning, implies or favors some methods over others (Leming 1991). Students learning to teach social studies should not only learn about the potential content benefits or using Supreme Court cases, but also how to best utilize Court cases depending upon the objectives of a given class, unit, or lesson. Content and method, though frequently separated for sake of simplicity, are really aspects of an integrated whole.

Before focusing on how Supreme Court cases may be best utilized, however, we focus briefly on a preliminary question: what methods of teaching or instructional strategies, whether using Supreme Court cases or other content, seem most related to civic development?[10] It is important to note that a variety of other factors, both inside and outside of the school, seem positively related to adolescent civic development and that further study is needed to identify which teaching strategies seem most related to civic development (Vontz, Metcalf, and Patrick 2001, 49-74).

Richard Niemi and Jane Junn's (1998, 81-82) analyses of the 1988 National Assessment for Educational Progress (NAEP) found two methods of instruction that were strongly and positively related to political knowledge: "discuss/analyze material" and "discuss current events." Niemi and Junn's (1998, 98) analyses also found that "participation in mock elections, councils, and trials" were significantly and positively related to both political knowledge and political attitudes. Conversely, the researchers found a negative relationship between political knowledge and "memorize material you have read" and the frequency of taking "a test or quiz" (Niemi and Junn 1998, 79).

Certain findings from Judith Torney-Purta, Rainer Lehmann, Hans Oswald, and Wolfram Schulz's (2001) 28-nation study of citizenship and education are especially relevant in the context of this chapter. First, the "perception of an open climate for discussion" was a positive predictor of civic knowledge in 22 of 28 countries (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001, 152, 154). Second, "teacher-centered methods" (e.g., use of textbooks and recitation) seem to predominate in civics instruction (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001, 164). Finally, "the topics of civic education content that teachers deem important and feel confident teaching" are those that receive the most coverage in their classes (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001, 152, 158).

Although further and extensive research is needed to learn more about the connections between teaching methods or strategies, content, and civic development, the findings above seem to suggest that social studies teacher educators who emphasize civic learning should focus attention on 1) facilitating discussions and establishing an "open" climate conducive to discussions; 2) active and participatory learning strategies (and less attention on teacher-centered strategies); 3) teaching with current events; 4) teaching with mock councils, trials, and elections; 5) analyses of documents and issues; and 6) content at the core of education for democratic citizenship to enable and motivate its coverage in the schools. Supreme Court cases could be used to further any or all of these ideas.

One method that is consistent with several of the findings above and is commonly used with Supreme Court cases is the case study method. The case study method eschews the memorization of civic values and principles through lectures and textbooks and instead relies on deriving important content from the analysis of real cases (McDonnell 2002; Long 1994). The case study method has been used effectively to teach constitutional law for more than a century and can be used effectively to foster civic learning among preservice teachers or students in the schools. However, we underscore an important distinction between the two environments: the objectives of education for democratic citizenship are much broader than the objectives

typically associated with a course in constitutional law. Thus, social studies teachers should be prepared to derive more content from Supreme Court cases than do professors in law schools.

Using the case study method with Supreme Court cases typically involves uncovering elements such as facts, issues (constitutional questions at stake), arguments (on both sides of the issue), legal reasoning (factors that the Court considered in its decision), and key holdings (Knapp 1993). For purposes of education for democracy, we would add four additional elements: 1) the historical context of the case (which is often not fully developed in the written decision), 2) the civic principles and values that are at stake in a given case, 3) the evaluation or argument presented by opposing sides, and 4) evaluation of the decision rendered by the Court (Leming 1991). Again, we believe that it is not only acceptable but also healthy for students to critically analyze constitutional arguments and decisions of the Supreme Court through the lens of core democratic principles and values.

These additional elements require the student to move beyond extraction of "what the Court said" about a particular issue and focus attention on the examination of core principles and values. When using *Bethel School District No. 403 v. Fraser* (1986) as a case study, teachers might raise, in addition to other concerns, the following questions:

- What parts of the Constitution (First, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments) apply to this case?
- What core principles of democracy (liberty of the individual; promotion of the common good) are at stake in this case?
- Are the arguments of the school consistent with core principles of constitutional democracy in the United States?
- Are the arguments of the student consistent with core principles of constitutional democracy in the United States?

Each of these questions and others can be explored through the use of Socratic seminars. Socratic seminars require the exploration of ideas, issues, and values of a given text through the questioning techniques of a skillful teacher (Miller and Singleton 1997). In the context of a Supreme Court case study, the teacher's questions would require analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of the facts, issues, historical context, arguments, decisions, civic principles, and key holdings of a case.[11] Using Socratic seminars or Socratic dialogue requires students' active participation in deriving as much meaning from a particular case as possible, which can also motivate student interest. The successful use of this technique for civic learning, we caution, demands that teachers possess relatively advanced content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge. Effective use of Socratic seminars requires that teachers are knowledgeable about the particular case, the Constitution, core democratic

principles, how to conduct and facilitate a focused discussion, and how to establish and maintain an open classroom climate. Social studies teacher education courses should help aspiring teachers acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are required to use Supreme Court cases effectively as the basis of a Socratic seminar.

Another teaching strategy particularly well suited for use with Supreme Court cases is moot court simulation (Bell 2002). Moot courts are simulations of appellate court or Supreme Court hearings. There are no witnesses at the appellate court level, so proceedings focus on the application of law—statutory, constitutional, and case law (from precedent). Therefore, moot court simulations require students to focus on the issues and arguments from multiple perspectives rather than on the processes associated with court procedure, which are often the focus of mock trials (Miller and Singleton 1997). Typically, teachers using moot court simulations review the historical context, facts, and constitutional issues of a case with the entire class and then divide the class into three groups: judges, petitioners, and respondents (Leming 1991).[12] Judges review the facts of the case, clarify the issue, and prepare questions that will be asked during the simulation. Depending on the number of students in a given class, multiple courts may be established.

The conclusion of the moot court simulation, however, does not conclude learning. After the simulation, which normally generates a great deal of student interest in the issues and the contending arguments of a particular case, the teacher has the opportunity to debrief the case, which can be accomplished in a variety of ways. Often, the teacher facilitates a discussion on the Court's actual decision (Leming 1991). The teacher could ask students to consider the core principles and values the decision supports and which ones the decision fails to support and/or discuss the implications of the decision in United States history. Preservice social studies teachers should be prepared to effectively teach about constitutional issues and principles using moot court simulations of Supreme Court cases.

Supreme Court cases could also be used with preservice social studies teachers to illustrate the potential power of teaching with primary documents (Patrick 1991). The preparation of social studies teachers should include an emphasis on the use and benefits of primary documents. The use of primary documents helps bring abstract ideas and events "to life" through the words of actual participants and frequently requires the use of higher-order thinking skills to analyze points of view, bias, and competing interpretations of the document (Knapp 1993). Although there is a variety of primary documents that could serve as exemplars, preservice social studies teachers could be required to plan lessons, activities, and questions that focus on education for democratic citizenship using a Supreme Court

case. Instructors could also effectively model teaching with primary documents using a historical or contemporary Supreme Court case.

Preservice social studies teachers also need to learn how to best utilize community resources, which can be used effectively in combination with Supreme Court cases. The use of community resources, which include guest speakers and field trips, can assist teachers who are interested in teaching the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship with Supreme Court cases (Knapp 1993). Teachers may invite attorneys or judges to speak to their classes about the significance of a particular Supreme Court case or aspect of the Constitution. A field trip to the local law library could facilitate an assignment requiring students to perform legal research about a particular Supreme Court case or area of constitutional law. Students might be required, for example, to brief a landmark Supreme Court case and teach it to their classmates.

During their preparation for teaching, social studies teachers need to learn how to best utilize web-based resources. A variety of resources are available on the World Wide Web that would be useful to teaching with and about cases of the Supreme Court (Williams 2002). Teachers may join a listserv, for example, at the Legal Information Institute of Cornell Law School that will automatically send syllabi of Supreme Court decisions, which are summaries of the decisions prepared by the Court's Reporter of Decisions, normally released on the same day the decision is released.[13] Numerous websites provide access to resources that would be helpful to teachers who use Supreme Court cases. The three websites below serve as examples of many others available on the World Wide Web:

- **Supreme Court of the United States:** The Official site of the United States Supreme Court, this site includes information about the history, structure, functions, and rules of the federal judiciary, decisions from all Supreme Court cases, selected oral arguments, the Court's docket, and a guide to visiting the Supreme Court: *<supremecourtus.gov/index.html>*.
- **Findlaw:** A comprehensive legal information site that has special sections on the U.S. Supreme Court, judiciary, and U.S. Constitution. In addition to access to full-text decisions of the Supreme Court, teachers may go to Findlaw to download *amicus curia* briefs, which are excellent tools for analyzing arguments on both sides of an issue. This site can be searched by party name, decision date, or topic: *<Supreme.lp.findlaw.com/supreme_html>*.
- **Oyez, Oyez, Oyez.** Operated by Northwestern University's Oyez Project, this Supreme Court database features briefs or abstracts of United States Supreme Court cases that include sections entitled "Facts of the Case," "Questions Presented," and "Conclusions." This site also provides links to Findlaw for the full text of Supreme Court

decisions. Teachers may download recordings of oral arguments from many decisions and obtain biographical data on all Supreme Court Justices: <*http://oyez.nwu.edu*>.

The Current Status of Supreme Court Cases in the Social Studies Curriculum

The idea of emphasizing U.S. Supreme Court cases to foster civic learning and the development of democratic citizenship is not new. However, there appears to be renewed interest in teaching about the Supreme Court and cases that come before it. A special section of the January/February 2002 issue of *Social Education*, edited by Diana Hess and Lee Arbetman, was devoted to "teaching about the U.S. Supreme Court."[14] Hess and Arbetman cite the Supreme Court's involvement in the 2000 presidential election as a factor in renewed interest in the Court. The special section of *Social Education* is a collection of useful articles for those who teach with or about cases that come before the Supreme Court.

Both the role of the Supreme Court as an important institution in American democracy and the issues and principles that can be derived from cases that come before the Court are emphasized in many state standards documents. In their content analyses of state history, civics, or social studies standards, Diana Hess and Anand Marri (2002, 53-59) found 20 of 48 states with standards that mention particular Supreme Court cases. Although many state standards did not mention particular Supreme Court cases (e.g., Illinois, Florida, Ohio, Michigan), many others mentioned two or three (e.g., Virginia), and a few mentioned many (e.g., the Indiana Social Studies Standards included 39 Supreme Court decisions). Below is a list of the cases that appeared most frequently in state standards and the number of state standards documents in which each case appeared (Hess and Marri 2002, 54):

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)	15
Marbury v. Madison (1803)	14
McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)	11
Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)	11
Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)	8
Miranda v. Arizona (1966)	8
Gideon v. Wainwright (1963)	4
Roe v. Wade (1973)	4
Tinker v. Des Moines School District (1969)	4
Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)	3
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)	3
Schenk v. United States (1919)	3
United States v. Nixon (1974)	3

In addition to the explicit focus on particular Supreme Court decisions, however, every state standards document contains issues and principles that can be taught using Supreme Court cases. On behalf of the Mid-Continent Research for Education and Learning (MCREL), John Kendall, Lisa Schoch-Roberts, and Sara Young-Reynolds (2000) analyzed and synthesized the top five state standards in history (based upon reviews by the Fordham Foundation and the American Federation of Teachers).[15] The researchers synthesized and condensed history standards from Alabama, Arizona, California, Kansas, and Virginia. Although only *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) are mentioned explicitly in the distillation of state standards in grades 5-12, Supreme Court cases could be used to help students learn several of the state history standards. Specific standards and examples of the Supreme Court cases that could be used to address each standard are listed below (Kendall, Schoch-Roberts, and Young-Reynolds 2000):

- Understands the ideas and principles expressed in the U.S. Constitution and the events that led to its adoption, *Barron v. Baltimore* (1833).
- Understands the significance of the Federalist Papers, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).
- Understands the impact of the Industrial Revolution during the early and later 19th century, *Lochner v. New York* (1904).
- Understands federal and state policy toward Native Americans in the first half of the 19th century, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832).
- Understands the major events and issues that promoted sectional conflicts and strained national cohesiveness in the antebellum period, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857).
- Understands the basic provisions and impact of 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution, multiple Supreme Court decisions including the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1872); *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954); *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* (1960); *Baker v. Carr* (1962).
- Understands the experiences of African Americans in the North and the South in the late 19th century, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).
- Understands labor and workforce issues of the late 19th century, *Lochner v. New York* (1905).
- Understands characteristics of social conflict and social change that took place in the early 1920s, *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923).
- Understands the impact of the New Deal on various elements of American Society, *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp* (1937).
- Understands the impact of World War II on the home front, *Korematsu v. United States* (1944).

- Understands the events and legacy of the Watergate break-in, *Nixon v. United States* (1974).
- Understands significant legislation and court cases associated with the civil rights movement, *NAACP v. Alabama* (1958).
- Understands how recent immigration and migration patterns have influenced social and political issues, *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973).
- Understands major contemporary social issues and the groups involved, *Cruzan v. Missouri* (1990).

Teaching with and about Supreme Court cases also supports many ideas contained in the national standards documents in social studies such as the *National Standards for Civics and Government*, the *National Standards for History*, and the *Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies*.[16] *The National Standards for Civics and Government*, for example, contain many standards that could be achieved using Supreme Court cases and entire sections that emphasize the Court and its role in American democracy such as "The Place of Law in American Society," "Institutions of the National Government," and "Judicial Protection of the Rights of Individuals." Although a direct relationship exists between many of the standards and cases that have been decided by the U.S. Supreme Court, the content standards for grades 5-8 and for grades 9-12 of the *National Standards for Civics and Government* mention only three Supreme Court opinions *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and *U.S. v. Nixon* (1974).

Supreme Court cases are prominent parts of certain government/civics textbooks and programs. Decisions of the Supreme Court are featured, for example, in the Center for Civic Education's *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* text, which focuses on the historical and philosophical development of important constitutional principles and their relevance to democratic institutions and to public issues (Center for Civic Education 1995).[17] The high school textbook uses 19 Supreme Court cases to help students develop an understanding of constitutional democracy in the United States. Of the six units of the text, units three, four, and five, emphasize the role of the Court and/or its decisions (Center for Civic Education 1995, v-vi):

> **Unit One:** What Are the Philosophical and Historical Foundations of the American Political System?
> **Unit Two:** How Did the Framers Create the Constitution?
> **Unit Three:** How Did the Values and Principles Embodied in the Constitution Shape American Institutions and Practices?
> **Unit Four:** How Have the Protections of the Bill of Rights Been Developed and Expanded?
> **Unit Five:** What Rights Does the Bill of Rights Protect?
> **Unit Six:** What are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?

Supreme Court cases are also the sole focus of Jamin B. Raskin's (2000) *We the Students: Supreme Court Decisions For and About Students*. Raskin's text includes explanatory historical material, glossary definitions, biographical sketches, moot court exercises, discussion questions and excerpts from decisions of the Supreme Court that impact directly the lives of students (Raskin 2000).[18] Raskin, a law professor at American University who often works with social studies teachers during Street Law's Supreme Court Institute, wrote the book "with one driving conviction: that, while you can be many things without knowing your own Constitution, you cannot be an effective citizen" (Raskin 2000, xiii). Raskin has selected cases from the Court that involve students in constitutional conflicts on freedom of expression, the establishment clause, free exercise of religion, search and seizure, due process, cruel and unusual punishment, equal protection, and privacy. Another useful source of information about landmark Supreme Court cases and principles of constitutional democracy is *The Supreme Court of the United States: A Student Companion*, which is published by the Oxford University Press (Patrick 2001).

Supreme Court Cases and Civic Learning: Criteria for Selecting Cases

Preservice social studies teachers should learn that not all Supreme Court cases are of equal worth in fostering civic development. Some cases, like other content and methods in civic education, are better vehicles to civic development than others and some are better at emphasizing certain aspects of civic development than others. The general criterion should be to select cases that help students develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship consistent with the objectives of a given lesson, unit, or course. To elaborate, more specific criteria are discussed below.

1. *Select cases that involve core civic principles and values.* Although all Supreme Court cases involve core civic principles and values in some way, some are better examples and the linkage back to fundamental values is more explicit. Teachers should select Court cases that clearly expose core civic principles and values such as the promotion of the common good; the liberty of the individual (personal, political, and economic freedom); the right to life; the pursuit of happiness; due process; equality (political, legal, and social equality); and diversity. *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972), for example, is a case that involves the liberty of the individual (personal liberty; free exercise of religion), promotion of the common good (Wisconsin's compulsory attendance law), pursuit of happiness (Amish lifestyle), and diversity.

2. *Select cases that established an important precedent.* The importance of certain Supreme Court cases resides in the precedent-setting nature of the case. These cases help students to understand the legal reasoning the Court uses when applying a specific part of the Constitution and how the Court

applies abstract constitutional principles to an actual case. Although the Court's decision in *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971) contained fundamental principles (promotion of the common good; equality), it is important for establishing a precedent that the Court continues to use in establishment clause cases: the Lemon Test. Learning about the legal reasoning associated with precedent-setting cases helps students to not only learn the logic the Court uses when applying a part of the Constitution, it also helps students monitor and critique actions of the Court.

3. *Select cases that focus on important historic or contemporary public issues.* Many cases that come before the Supreme Court focus on important public issues that have not been resolved through other democratic means. Preservice social studies teachers should learn to select cases that enable students to make connections between fundamental values and principles and historic or contemporary issues. They should also learn that the Court's application of the Constitution and democratic principles to a particular issue often does not settle the issue. Often, the Court's decisions spark more controversy. In a democracy, citizens should monitor the actions of all institutions of their government through the lenses of democratic principles. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), for example, focuses on the (mis)application of democratic principles (e.g., equality) to a public issue, the separate but equal doctrine. The case could be used to help students develop a more sophisticated understanding of equality, reconstruction after the Civil War, and the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment.

4. *Select cases that demonstrate the role, function, and power of the Supreme Court or other institutions of constitutional democracy in the United States.* Competent citizens need to understand the role, function, and power of important institutions in their democracy. Certain Supreme Court cases help to illustrate these important ideas better than others. Students studying *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), for example, could be asked to examine the historical and constitutional origins of judicial review, distinguish between state and national judicial review, evaluate the arguments for and against judicial review based upon principles of democracy, analyze alternative institutional arrangements for protecting the rights of minorities, and develop criteria for the appropriate use of judicial review by the Court.

5. *Select cases that are meaningful to young people.* Whenever possible, teachers should select cases that satisfy one or more of the criteria above and also involve young people or issues that are meaningful to young people (Patrick 2001). Using cases with direct connections to young people will help students see the relevance of core principles in their own lives and stimulate additional interest. Students can relate to the issues and circumstances of *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* (1985), which involved the search of a student's purse at school. This case could be used to help students provide

more meaning to the Fourth Amendment's protection against "unreasonable searches and seizures" and evaluate its application in a particular setting, the public school environment.

Supreme Court cases should be featured prominently in the education of social studies teachers and in the education of democratic citizens. Social studies teacher education should focus on providing students with the requisite knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to become effective *civic educators*, whose primary mission is education for democratic citizenship. Their preparation, then, should emphasize content and methods that promote informed, responsible participation in civic and political life. Without careful and explicit attention to education for democracy in social studies teacher education or in the K-12 curriculum citizens will be less willing and able to meet the considerable challenges that await their democracy.

Notes

1. We prefer the term Supreme Court "cases" to "opinions" or "decisions." Supreme Court cases is a broader term that includes more elements than the written opinion of the Court (e.g., majority, dissenting, concurring opinions). Additional elements such as lower court decisions, *amicus curia* briefs, and the context in which the case took place are potentially useful tools to advance civic learning. In addition, all "cases" involve human actors and events that led them to the Supreme Court, which stimulate student interest. See Lee Arbetman, "The Road to the Court," *Social Education* 66 (January/February 2002): 46-50. We also remind social studies teachers and teacher educators of the importance of teaching about landmark dissents in American history, especially those that subsequently influenced majority opinions. See Robert S. Leming, "Teaching About Landmark Dissents in United States Supreme Court Cases," *ERIC Digest* (January 1991). The term civic learning refers to both formal and informal experiences that foster responsible, informed, and humane participation in civic and political life.

2. We acknowledge certain limitations to using Supreme Court cases to foster civic learning. First, no matter how useful Supreme Court cases can be in helping students or preservice social studies teachers acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship, they can be only *part* of the civic education curriculum. Social studies teachers and their students must focus on other content and use other means to develop informed and responsible democratic citizens. In other words, we recognize the value of other content and methods in the preparation of democratic citizens and in the preparation of social studies teachers. Second, Supreme Court cases need to be utilized in particular ways to have maximum impact on civic learning. Like other methods and materials in civic education, Supreme Court cases should be used in ways that maximize their impact on the civic learning, which is a focus of the second section of this chapter. And, third, not all Supreme Court cases are of equal worth. Some Court cases foster civic learning better than others, which is another aspect of their use that should be emphasized with preservice social studies teachers. Criteria for selecting Supreme Court cases to foster civic learning are presented in the last section of this chapter.

3. The four-component model was initially developed by John J. Patrick and published in 1999. See John J. Patrick, "Concepts at the Core of Education for Democratic Citizenship," in *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects*, edited by Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 1-40.

4. The core concepts of the civic knowledge component were developed initially by John J. Patrick and published in 1999. For an extended discussion of these concepts and their importance to education for democratic citizenship see John J. Patrick, "Concepts at the Core of Education for Democratic Citizenship," in *Principles of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects*, edited by Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 1-40.

5. For an elaborate and detailed discussion of democratic political theory and democracy in the United States see Richard Dagger, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Thomas A. Spragens, *Civic Liberalism: Reflections on Our Democratic Ideals* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999).

6. For a discussion of the origins and role of the Supreme Court as an important institution in an American democracy see Sarah E. Drake and Thomas S. Vontz, "Teaching About the United States Supreme Court," *ERIC Digest* (August 2001).

7. Many resources are available to teachers wishing to develop more information about the human element at the heart of a particular Supreme Court decision. See, for example, Peter Irons, *The Courage of Their Convictions: Sixteen Americans Who Fought Their Way to the Supreme Court* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1990); and Ellen Alderman and Caroline Kennedy, *In Our Defense: The Bill of Rights in Action* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1991).

8. For a detailed discussion of constitutional interpretation in the United States of America see Walter F. Murphy, James E. Fleming, and Sotirios A. Barber, *American Constitutional Interpretation. Second Edition*, (Westbury, NY: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1995). This comprehensive work provides a section entitled "Purposes of Reading Judicial Opinions," which is valuable to social studies teachers and teacher educators. Murphy, Fleming, and Barber offer the following purposes of reading judicial opinions (24):

1. Legal Substance
2. Method of Argumentation
3. History
4. Judicial Strategy
5. Proper Institutional Roles
6. Political Impact

9. It is important to stress to preservice social studies teachers and to students in the social studies that the Supreme Court's ruling on an issue does not make it exempt from further scrutiny. In fact, the nine Justices on the Court rarely decide unanimous decisions and the dissents often offer excellent critiques of the majority opinion. Our experience as teachers and teacher educators suggests that there is a temptation on the part of many students to defer constitutional interpretation to the Justices on the Supreme Court. To the contrary, we agree with Walter F. Murphy, James E. Fleming, and Sotirios A. Barber (1995) that the task of constitutional interpretation is shared by many in American democracy including, and perhaps most importantly, among its citizens.

10. Civic development is a term that refers to the growth of an individual's civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions, which enable and motivate informed and responsible participation in civic and political life. See Thomas S. Vontz, Kim K. Metcalf, and John J. Patrick, *Project Citizen and the Civic Development of Adolescent Students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 10.

11. The key holdings of a Supreme Court decision, which are often difficult for students or preservice social studies teachers to discern, are those parts of the decision that decide the issue and establish precedents for future cases. Preservice social studies teachers should develop the capacity to accurately identify the key holdings of Supreme Court cases.

12. To help prepare students for the simulation, students might listen to the oral arguments of the Supreme Court. Selected oral arguments are available at Northwestern University's Oyez Supreme Court database at <http://oyez.nwu.edu>

13. To subscribe to this Cornell Law School's E-Bulletin Listserv send an email message to lii@lii.law.cornell.edu and write "subscribe" in the message line or visit their website at <http://liibuletin.law.cornell.edu>.

14. See Dianna Hess and Lee Arbetman, *Social Education. Cases, Controversy, and the Court: Teaching About the U.S. Supreme Court* 66 (January/February 2002).

15. For reviews of state standards in social studies see American Federation of Teachers, *Making Standards Matter* (Washington, DC: American Federation of Teachers, 1999), which is also available on the World Wide Web at http:www.aft.org.edissues/standards99/Toc.htm. See also David Warren Saxe, "The State of State Standards in History," in the *State of State Standards 2000*, edited by Chester E. Finn, Jr. and M. J. Pitrelli (Washington, DC: The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, 2000), which is also available on the World Wide Web at http:www.edexcellence.net/library/soss2000/Standards2000.pdf.

16. See Center for Civic Education, *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1994); National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (Los Angeles, CA: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996); and National Council for the Social Studies, *Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1994). Teaching with and about U.S. Supreme Court decisions also supports many of the ideas contained in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics. See NAEP Civics Consensus Project, *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* (Washington, DC: National Assessment Governing Board and the U.S. Department of Education).

17. For a more detailed analysis of *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* and its potential value in fostering civic learning in the schools or in the education of social studies teachers see Nancy Haas, "Using We the People Programs in Social Studies Teacher Education," in *Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers: Civic Learning in Teacher Education*, edited by John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001), 167-183.

18. Although designed for use with secondary history and government students, Raskin's book could be used in a social studies methods course both as a way to foster civic learning among pre-service teachers and as an excellent example of methods and materials that support civic education. See Jamin B. Raskin, *We the Students: Supreme Court Decisions For and About Students* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000).

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6

The Deliberative Approach to Education for Democracy: Problems and Possibilities

Walter C. Parker

I embrace the approach to constitutional democracy called "deliberative democracy" and support it as the moral and conceptual anchor of a school curriculum for democracy in a diverse society. Here I will briefly define this approach and address two key challenges to it, one concerning knowledge and the other power. I will then try to respond to these challenges with suggestions for productive work that I believe strengthens the deliberative approach.

Deliberation: Dialogue Across Difference

My understanding of deliberation emerges from my reading of the literature, where there is much on it, and from my work with graduate students of education and with preservice and inservice teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Additionally, my understanding is worked out in community involvements, especially neighborhood planning meetings and in a series of community dialogues about the future direction of the Seattle public schools in which I participate. This is a diverse set of discourse communities, but running through each is *discussion-based decision making by the participants themselves, within and across their political, ideological, and cultural differences, on what to do about the problems they face in common.* This is deliberation.

The English word deliberation derives from the Latin *libra* for scale. Deliberation means "to weigh," weighing which actions will best address a problem. Deliberative democracy refers to the idea that legitimate policy making (lawmaking; rulemaking) issues from the public deliberation of the people who face the problem. Legitimate decision making issues from the

practical reasoning, together, of citizens. The problem might be in a kindergarten classroom, where children are excluding one another from play, and the teacher asks the children to decide whether or not they need a new rule that says "You Can't Say You Can't Play" (Paley 1992). Or it might be racial profiling in a state or county, and an advisory council is appointed to decide what to do. In my neighborhood planning group, typical problems are parking, traffic speed, bus routes, and tree planting. With preservice and inservice teachers, the problems needing deliberation stretch from deciding on attendance policies and curriculum materials to deciding how to make the school a better seedbed for democracy. In community dialogues concerning the future direction of Seattle's public schools, participants debate the value of "basic" subjects, such as reading and mathematics, in comparison to social studies and the arts; some want more "freedom" for students to choose what to study, and how, while others want a common curriculum for all students. The diversity in each setting runs from political, professional, and ideological differences to demographic differences and the power inequality that accompanies them: race, class, gender, first language, education, and more. In the neighborhood planning group, participants are young or old, home owners or renters, affluent professionals or working class laborers, and members of various faith communities.

Voting is a poor substitute for deliberation because, while voting does result in a decision by citizens, it does so without the benefit of those citizens weighing alternatives together and listening to what one another has to say in face-to-face encounters (Bohman and Rehg 1997; Dillon 1994; Mathews 1994). Voting brings "power to the people," but it does so under conditions that inject little thoughtfulness or diverse points of view into the decision making. "It is a dubious accomplishment," writes James Fishkin (1991, 21), "to give power to the people under conditions where they are not really in a position to think about how they are going to exercise that power." The deliberative approach, then, arises on a terrain staked out by a debate between two positions on the question of legitimate government: the pluralists (modern liberals) and the communitarians (modern republicans):

> On the one side are theorists who emphasize the plurality of citizens' interests and the potential for civil strife; on the other are those who see possibilities for civil harmony based on a commonality of interests, values, or traditions. . . . Although the idea of deliberative democracy does not necessarily lead to republicanism and does not preclude a keen awareness of social conflict, it arises on the terrain staked out by the debates between these two traditions. For a democracy based on public deliberation presupposes that citizens or their representatives can take counsel together about what laws and politics they ought to pursue as a commonwealth. And this in turn means that the plurality of competing interests is not the last word, or sole perspective, in deciding matters of public importance. (Bohman and Rehg 1997, x)

Deliberation is making decisions together about the kind of future a "we" wants to forge. In school settings, deliberation is not only an instructional means (teaching *with* deliberation) but a curriculum outcome itself (teaching *for* deliberation[1]), because it produces a particular kind of democratic community: a public culture among the deliberators wherein the norms include listening as well as talking, trying to understand where someone else is coming from (their vantage point), sharing resources, forging decisions together rather than only advocating positions taken earlier, coming to agreement and disagreement; in general, creating what Jurgen Habermas (1992, 446) described as public opinion and will:

> 'Political public sphere' is appropriate as the quintessential concept denoting all those conditions of communication under which there can come into being a discursive formation of opinion and will on the part of a public composed of the citizens of a state. This is why it is suitable as the fundamental concept of a theory of democracy whose intent is normative.

When a group deliberates, it is trying to decide on the best course of action among alternatives. This entails not only weighing the alternatives but creating a critical *array* of alternatives that imagines better futures. Deliberation ends not in action itself but in a decision to take a particular course of action. Forging that decision together, generating and weighing those alternatives, is deliberation's main activity. In heterogeneous societies, to the extent power is actually "shared," deliberation is done with persons who are more or less different from one another; for pedagogical purposes, therefore, deliberative groups—schools and classrooms, councils and clubs—should be as diverse as possible in these ways. What the participants have in common is not culture, race, or opinion but the problems they are facing together and must work out together.

Teaching students to deliberate and providing ample opportunities for them to do so on authentic shared problems is the core of the deliberative approach to education for democracy. The availability of models and materials makes this work a little easier. I give examples of deliberation in elementary and secondary school settings elsewhere (Parker, 2003; Parker 1997; Parker, Ninomiya, and Cogan 1999), and good curriculum resources are available. Particularly helpful to teachers in the U.S. are the classroom materials published by the *National Issues Forum* (NIF).[2] These have been extensively field tested with thousands of high-school aged youth in the U.S., both in classrooms and non-school organizations (e.g., 4-H clubs). These materials feature authentic public policy controversies and highlight the value conflicts that make them difficult. Each unit in the program centers on an NIF issue booklet familiar to the many American adults who participate in NIF "deliberative forums" in libraries, service clubs, and churches and

temples. These booklets provide background information on the problem, then present three or four policy alternatives. In this way they draw participants into the deliberative choice-work that is the essence of deliberation. The provision of alternatives by the authors of the NIF booklets models for students what an array of alternatives looks like and allows them to labor at examining these alternatives and listening to one another. After this, students should be ready to investigate an issue of their own choosing, first creating their own briefing booklet, including a carefully-selected set of alternatives, then deliberating the issues and choosing a course of action.

But there are serious problems. Let me turn to two that confront the deliberative approach and threaten it at its core. One concerns the blather that can overtake deliberation when social and historical knowledge is not developed and brought to bear. Here I am speaking of the necessary interaction of knowing and deciding if praxis is to obtain. What I am trying to understand is how knowledge contributes to public decision making and how the two—knowledge and engagement—can be orchestrated meaningfully in the school curriculum. The second problem concerns the sham made of deliberation by power inequity and traditions of exclusion. Here I am trying to understand how deliberation can be legitimate when it is well known that some voices are at the table but effectively silenced and others are not at the table at all. In neither problem space—knowledge or equity—do I believe that the difficulty of achieving genuine deliberation should immobilize democratic educators or return them simply to teaching *about* democracy. In neither case, that is, is productive work with the deliberative approach rendered impossible. I believe productive work is made impossible rather, when either problem is ignored.

Knowledge

What knowledge informs deliberation and makes more likely the desired outcome, right action? Praxis requires blending the two into one interdependent whole—"action encompassing critical reflection" (Freire 1970, 125)—and a relevant curriculum should follow suit. Deliberation itself advances knowledge if diverse social positions are present and if the group is able to take advantage of this asset. These are big "ifs," and I will address them in the next section. For now, I want to suggest that what is learned *in* deliberation is insufficient; knowledge must also be brought *to* deliberation. Accordingly, let me turn to what I believe is a necessary supplement to a curriculum with and for deliberation. It is a curriculum of shared inquiry into carefully selected texts and events. "Texts" are relatively permanent and material cultural products such as documents and books, paintings and photographs, letters and diaries, films and newspapers. "Events" are relatively non-permanent performances in time such as ceremonies, field

trips, playground games and fights, the WTO demonstrations in Seattle, the event known as Nine Eleven, and the kind of classroom discussions Vivian Paley (1992) orchestrates in her kindergarten classroom. But first, a word more generally about discussion.

When students read together a shared text or event, they occupy a unique pedagogic space which conventionally is called a *discussion*. Discussion is a kind of shared inquiry the desired outcomes of which rely on the expression and consideration of diverse views. As David Bridges writes: "The distinctive and peculiar contribution which discussion has to play in the development of one's knowledge or understanding . . . is to set alongside one perception of the matter under discussion the several perceptions of other participants . . . challenging our own view of things with those of others" (1979, 50). This in turn requires discussants to do something difficult: to switch loyalties from justifying positions and defending ground to listening intently, seeking understanding, and expressing ideas that often are undeveloped and in-progress. This is to switch from a defensive stance to an inquisitive stance—a mindful one—and this makes for an "occasion" (Oliver, Newmann, and Singleton 1992, 103; Burbules 1993). The occasion is both situation and method, and it has consequences. Discussion can result in what could be called shared understanding: discussion widens the scope of each participant's understanding of the object of discussion by building into that understanding the interpretations and life experiences of other discussants. In Joseph Schwab's (1978, 105) terms, "discussion is not merely a device, one of several possible means by which a mind may be brought to understanding of a worthy object. It is also the *experience* of moving toward and possessing understanding."

In my work with student teachers, experienced teachers, and community-based discussion leaders who work in neighborhood councils, churches and temples, and health care facilities, I have found it useful to distinguish between two kinds of discussion: "deliberation" and "seminar." Seminar is the supplement needed if a critical approach to deliberative democratic education—a praxis curriculum—is to come within reach.

Seminars and deliberations represent the distinction between the world-revealing and the world-changing functions of discourse. When we seek understanding together, we work to develop and clarify meanings. When we forge a decision together, we weigh alternatives and decide what action to take. One is akin to a liberal arts education where broadening one's horizons and deepening one's repertoire of ideas, appreciations, stories, and critical skills is the central aim. The other is more directly a civic education, where creating better futures is the aim. As we have seen, these overlap. Deliberation requires understanding, but understanding is not its aim. Its aim is a fair and workable decision. Meanwhile, understanding is

always related to action (humans are continually taking action based on their understandings [Gadamer 1982]), yet seminars are not driven by the desire to get anything done. Think of a political action committee meeting, then think of a poetry reading or concert. With this distinction, we can see why a social studies, literature, or science classroom should not be deliberation-centered anymore than it should be centered on achieving enlarged understandings (seminar-centered). To move toward the aims of deliberative democracy, courses must try to do both in tandem, judiciously. The horizon-widening and knowledge-deepening function of seminars help to provide an enlightened platform for public decision making and action, and vice versa.[3]

Thus far I have skirted the issue signaled by my use earlier of the term "carefully selected" texts and events. Suffice it to say in this space that powerful texts and events can call out to us in any medium. What makes them carefully selected is that they are "powerful," and what makes them powerful is that they lend themselves to multiple and conflicting interpretations and are potentially mind- and community-altering. The exchange and clarification of interpretations should arouse the discussants intellectually, emotionally, and morally, and, thanks to the contents of the texts combined with the diversity of participants and their disagreements about meanings and implications, broaden their horizons, destabilize their assumptions, and enable insight. This is the goal. The ideas, issues, and values carried by (potentially aroused by) these carefully selected texts and events deal intimately with who we are and how we live together, why we suffer and hope, what we do and don't envision, how we got to where we are, why hate persists, what turns the wheel of life, and so forth. Of course, not every text or event does this, and predicting which ones do and don't (with these or those students, in this or that milieu, with this facilitator rather than someone else) is a slippery business.

Teaching upper-grade students to read texts and events by uncovering their ideological underpinnings and the discursive competitions that formed those underpinnings further develops the potential of the seminar by placing it more firmly on a critical trajectory. There are surprisingly few methodological guides for teachers interested in doing this deeper work. Help is available (Cormack 1992; Gee 1999), although, unfortunately, not specifically with teachers and teaching in mind. Teachers can at least begin this work by regularly probing with students the *presences and absences* in the texts and events under consideration. What vocabulary is (and isn't) used? Which perspectives and social positions are (and aren't) represented? As Pierre Macherey wrote, "A book is not self-sufficient; it is necessarily accompanied by a certain absence, without which it would not exist" (Cormack 1992, 30). This takes us to the second problem.

Power and Inequality

This problem is related to but still more difficult than infusing deliberation with liberal knowledge and ideological analysis.[4] Deliberation involves everyone in the group forging together the alternatives and making a decision. This is hugely problematic in actually existing societies where power and status influence participation in deliberation as well as the topics considered appropriate for deliberation. The poor, women, and subordinate ethnic, religious, and racial minorities are the first to suffer *de facto* exclusion from ostensibly "open forums" in most societies, certainly in the United States. And, by virtue of this exclusion, the issues they would raise for discussion are never placed on the table.

Where to begin? I am presently addressing this problem in two ways. I understand well that these are limited responses and are in no way comprehensive; still, they are consequential and, I believe, worth enacting. One is a practice, "listening across difference"; the other is a concept, "the deliberative advantages of diversity." Both can be taught explicitly and implicitly. I consider each of them now in some detail. The work of Uma Narayan (1988) and Iris Marion Young (1990; 1997) has been particularly helpful in sorting this out.

Listening Across Difference. Each participant in deliberation needs to listen. The greatest difficulty here often arises for discussants who, relative to other discussants, find themselves in privileged social positions (i.e., individuals who enjoy relatively more social status, often without awareness that they do). Consider this testimony by an African American teacher:

> When you're talking to white people they still want it to be their way. You can try to talk to them and give them examples, but they're so headstrong, they think they know what's best for *everybody*, for *everybody's* children. . . . It's really hard. They just don't listen well. (Delpit 1995, 21)

Every effort must be made to educate all students to listen across difference, but because privileged persons possess the fruits of privilege—political, cultural, and economic power—and can, therefore, do the most harm to those who do not, they especially need to learn to listen. That is, they are uniquely obliged to listen without egocentric or ethnocentric distortion.

"Given the way difference works," writes Uma Narayan (1988, 41), it is hardly surprising that insiders and outsiders may often have very different understandings of what is involved in a situation or issue." By "insiders" Narayan refers to members of historically oppressed groups (e.g., the poor, gays and lesbians, women, people of color); "outsiders" are non-members. Non-members do not share in the oppression. People are insiders or outsiders in relation to specific forms of oppression—racism, sexism, compulsory

heterosexuality, etc. When the kindergarten children are deliberating Mrs. Paley's (1992) proposal that a child shouldn't be permitted to say "You can't play," there are both insiders and outsiders in the deliberation. Children typically excluded from play are the insiders, and those typically doing the excluding are the outsiders, as far as this issue is concerned. When discussing sexual harassment in school or at the workplace, girls and women usually are the insiders, boys and men the outsiders.

Using the terms insider and outsider has the advantage of turning upside down the conventional usage by according dialogic privilege to the oppressed—what Narayan (1988) calls *epistemic privilege*. Members (insiders) have an unparalleled vantage point from which to understand and articulate the experience of oppression. They have a more immediate knowledge of their oppression, to be sure, than non-members. It is "right there" for them, not an act of imagination but of observation, memory, and feeling. This knowledge is more vivid, nuanced, and embodied than even the highly empathic knowledge of an outsider, even one who is listening carefully and is capable of mature perspective taking (reversibility). As a consequence, deliberation among outsiders and insiders can be loaded with difficulty. The two groups do not share experiences or power equally and are not, therefore, equally vulnerable. Consider deliberations on sexual harassment:

> When, for instance, men totally blame women for the sexual harassment and sexual terrorism from which they suffer, they wholly deny the validity of the insiders' understanding of such harassment as something inflicted on them. The insider will most often respond emotionally to such attempts to negate her understanding—with anger, tears, etc. The issue, to the insiders, is not a purely theoretical one, and their anger and pain at what they have to endure become exacerbated by the seeming inability of even well-intentioned outsiders to see their point of view. (Narayan 1988, 41)

Emotions and intentions both are involved in dialogue across difference, and listening cannot avoid either of these and still be called listening. Taking emotions seriously has long been a feminist commitment in politics and education. Applying that commitment to deliberation has the advantage not only of helping participants hear and respect one another's emotions in deliberation—fear, grief, hurt, vulnerability, violation—but additionally the advantage of signaling outsiders that caution is needed to avoid causing or dismissing emotional turmoil among insiders. Narayan (1988) details some ways outsiders unintentionally do this, chief among which is by denying the validity of the insider's understandings of and responses to a situation. Consider the sexual harassment case again. Heterosexual men sometimes reason that women are responsible for harassment by men because they "look attractive"—the way they dress, their makeup and physique,

hairstyle, and so forth. These men may not perceive a woman's understanding of harassment as something originating from men, from the harasser, and inflicted upon women. In response to this denial, the insider understandably has an emotional response: hurt, frustration, exasperation, anger—each compounding the violation. The validity of this response also might be denied by the outsider. First was the denial of the insider's view of the situation; now, adding insult to injury, is denial of the feelings that arise in response to that denial. The second volley of denial can take several forms. One is dismissal of the emotion as irrelevant or irrational. Another is to accuse the insider of trying to manipulate the situation with emotion (e.g., crying to win sympathy). A third is to accuse the insider of "paranoia"—of imagining oppression when none exists, or exaggerating what little may exist rather than ignoring it and getting on with life.

Good Will Is Not Enough. When individuals or groups resolve sincerely to understand the experience of persons whose oppression they do not share, this is, of course, a useful and wholesome intention. It indicates both knowledge of the reality of the oppression as well as some sort of willingness to put effort into listening. This commitment might lay an important foundation on which trust eventually can develop. It will not, however, "solve or resolve the thousands of problems that are going to crop up in discussion and community. . . . The advantaged would be wrong to expect this to be sufficient to cause strong, historically constituted networks of distrust to simply evaporate into thin air" (Narayan 1988, 34). All of the very reasonable grounds for mistrust on the part of insiders, reinforced through decades of good intentions by (some) outsiders—intentions that are nonetheless wedded to entrenched structures of power and privilege—will not dissolve thanks to an outsider's sincere attempt to listen anew.

Are there strategies that might consciously be enacted to supplement good will, to take us further than it alone can take us and, therefore, to make genuine deliberation, complete with contention and disagreement, somewhat more achievable? Might norms be implemented by which outsiders can hear and challenge insiders' understandings and responses without denying their validity and authenticity? If not, then dialogue devolves to alternating monologues: insiders and outsiders telling stories to which one another listen politely. This is far from deliberation because the group is not thinking together about how to frame and solve a problem.

There are several such strategies. Narayan (1988) suggests "epistemic privilege" as well as "methodological humility" and "methodological caution." Each aims for honest and open deliberation across difference. Each aims to surpass denial, invalidation, and alternating monologues. Epistemic privilege, as we have seen, means that insiders have better knowledge about the nature of their oppression than outsiders do. To grant

epistemic privilege in a discussion is an act of human-hearted generosity that assumes this is the case. This does not mean that insiders' knowledge is beyond question—beyond dialogue—as that would suggest that insiders' claims cannot be mistaken or in need of clarification, which is nonsense. Narayan (1988, 37) explains: "Members of an oppressed group, like human subjects in general, can always be mistaken about the nature of their experience. Other members of the very same group may differ in the way they perceive or interpret certain incidents. . . . (N)ot all of them can be right, and at times, it may even be that all of them are wrong." To grant epistemic privilege, then, does not absolve an outsider from critical listening and responding and, conversely, infantilizing the insider by removing his or her statements from criticism and challenge, reducing him or her to a storyteller. Rather, it calls on the outsider to exert effort to absorb the details of the insider's understanding of and response to an event—for example, to come seriously to grips with the sense of attack in a woman's experience of sexual harassment.

"Methodological humility" and "methodological caution" are additional strategies that can be intentionally implemented by an outsider when listening to an insider share an understanding of a situation or propose a solution. If I am *humble* while listening and responding, I realize that I am very likely missing something—that my understanding is probably incomplete. I remind myself that there is more I must learn, and that I am likely distorting what I am hearing. What appears to me to be a mistake on the part of the insider, or "paranoia," would probably make more sense to me if I had a better grasp of the details and the situation. Similarly, if I am *cautious* when listening and responding, I will engage carefully so that I am not denying or dismissing the validity of the insider's point of view, nor even appearing to do so; that is, I am careful not to violate the premise of epistemic integrity.

My emphasis here on the receptive act of listening should not imply an absence of talking—of asserting opinions and expressing reasons, advancing arguments, telling stories, and challenging the claims and arguments others are making. To the contrary, making proposals and evaluating those already on the table are central activities of deliberation without which there would be little to listen to or exchange. However, in deliberation no one is relieved of the obligation to listen, neither insider nor outsider, and the difficulty of listening across difference escapes no one, for no one lacks a social perspective—an existential and material home base from which he or she thinks and feels and observes the problem at hand.

The Deliberative Advantages of Diversity

Let me turn to a claim that undergirds this quest for deliberative competence: *A plurality of social perspectives is a social good and a deliberative*

asset, not a problem to be overcome. Let us consider two related questions. What is a social perspective? And, why is a plurality of social perspectives a social good and a deliberative asset? Both deal directly with how and why educators plan and conduct discussions in their various settings: in classrooms (from kindergarten through college), in schools (curriculum committees, student councils, faculty meetings, site council meetings, parent conferences), and in our communities (voluntary organizations, jury duty, neighborhood meetings, health care facilities, and city councils).

Social Perspective. Individuals are "thrown"[5] into unchosen historical and social situations. That is, we are positioned in already-structured fields of social class, race, gender, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, first and second language and so forth. I was born of working-class, English-speaking WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) parents in Englewood, Colorado, brought up in the Sunday school classes, summer camps, and youth groups of the Englewood Methodist Church, and schooled in the local, neighborhood public schools. I chose none of this. Now, to what extent has this social positioning shaped my identity? It influenced but did not determine it. Each of us deals in a unique way with the cards we were dealt, with the circumstances into which we were thrown. Still, our social positioning does matter, fundamentally.

Young (1997) works this out as follows. Our social position locates us in some social groups but not others, thereby placing us closer to some individuals (e.g., my fellow male WASPs in the church youth groups of which I was a member) and, simultaneously, farther from others who are positioned differently (e.g., girl WASPs, rich WASPs living in other neighborhoods, Jews, Muslims, African Americans, poor Whites, and poor Hispanics). All of us are positioned closer to persons similarly thrown and farther from persons who were thrown into different situations. This is what constitutes us as members of the same group. Furthermore, the groups into which we are thrown are not equal. They are positioned differently in the socio-economic hierarchy and the related status hierarchies of race, gender, class, language, religion, and sexual orientation. This inequality of groups matters because individual members are differently enabled or constrained in the life possibilities laid before them; for example, likelihood of admission to college, of sexual harassment by supervisors, of being stopped by police while driving an automobile, of being elected to a legislature, of being bullied at school.

Being positioned in one way rather than another, here rather than there, adds up to a unique social perspective—a unique point of view, vantage point, frame. *Where* one is situated matters in terms of *how* one sees the world and *what* one attends to in it:

> A social perspective is a certain way of being sensitive to particular aspects of social life, meanings, and interactions, and perhaps less sensitive to others. It is a form of attentiveness that brings some things into view while possibly obscuring others. . . . Perspective is a way of looking at social processes without determining what one sees. (Young 1997, 394-95; cf. Code 1991, and McIntosh 1997)

Two people who are similarly located in society may share a similar perspective, but they probably will experience situations differently and respond to them differently. While one cannot necessarily infer the content of either of these individuals' opinions simply by knowing the social groups into which they were thrown, one can rather safely assume that these two will probably share at least the following: an understanding of their position in relation to other positions, a point of view on the history of their group in relation to the broader society, and a position-specific view of the way society operates.

A social perspective, then, is a shared way of looking at situations that is grounded in one's social location(s) without automatically predicting what one sees. Sharing the same social perspective with others creates a bond of sorts, an affinity of being similarly positioned, and perhaps due to similar experiences in that location, a sense of solidarity and sometimes even agreement on what should be done about particular problems.

Drawing this distinction between perspective (point of view) and identity (subjectivity) is practically useful in attempts to deliberate the problems of living together, whether we are participants in such discussions or, as educators and citizens, facilitating them. Why? It acknowledges the fact of group membership and its consequences while at the same time arguing against stereotyping and "the tendency to interpret groups as fixed, closed, and bounded" (Young 1997, 398). As well, it suggests the possibility that persons who are differently thrown might nevertheless work at understanding one another and deliberating honestly together. Therein lines the value of the deliberative strategies described earlier.

Diversity as a Deliberative Asset. Now to the second question. *Why* is a plurality of social perspectives a deliberative asset? It may seem strange to ask the question because in some ways the matter seems to have been settled, especially perhaps with readers of this chapter. By now, "celebrate differences" has become a popular slogan in American and Canadian education (and elsewhere). But a slogan is no substitute for understanding and action. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine enlightened political engagement, such as deliberation, that does not include an understanding of exactly why diversity is necessary to the promise of a vibrant and flourishing democracy and exactly how policy making is crippled without it. Accordingly, let me try to unpack the slogan and show why group diversity should not merely be tolerated but fostered and, specifically, why multiple social

perspectives are a necessary resource for deliberation. I offer two reasons: diversity motivates individuals to justify their proposals with appeals to justice, and, returning to a point only mentioned earlier, it contributes to social knowledge—the ongoing enlightenment of one another about our circumstances.

First, diversity motivates individuals and groups, when they are in a setting where public policy is being deliberated, to justify their proposals with appeals to moral principles, especially justice.[6] To understand this claim, recall that diversity *protects* liberty. Rather than "balkanizing" and disuniting us, as assimilationists fear, our deep and abiding differences require a political framework that protects these differences and, thereby, encourages them. This is the point in the U.S. Constitution of the First Amendment's counter-majoritarian guarantees of speech, religion, press, and assembly. As James Madison (1787/1937, 22) argued in *The Federalist 10*, the plurality of "factions" in society helps prevent tyranny by the majority group. Madison believed that in a large society (in territory and number of citizens) "you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength and to act in union with each other." Were it not for diversity, anti-pluralist groups such as the Christian Right, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Islamic Right could not exist; yet, it is the same diversity that helps prevent these factions from more widely implementing their anti-democratic, monistic, theocratic platforms. Liberty and diversity are in this way interdependent.

Accordingly, when collective policies are being deliberated it is clear that everyone's liberty is at stake while at the same time there is a common problem to be solved and, therefore, a common interest at stake. For this reason, when we argue for or against proposals in a public forum where a plurality of social perspectives and individual differences are present, we are motivated to appeal to justice. We try to show that our proposals are workable, that they can be implemented effectively, but also we try to show that they are fair to everyone concerned. Consider Paley's (1992) two questions to her kindergartners when proposing a rule: Will it work? Is it fair? Others are not likely to accept "I want this" or "this alternative is the best for me" as good reasons for them to accept a proposal (Young 1997, 403). Whether kindergartners are deciding whether to adopt a classroom rule or faculty members are deliberating a state mandate or budget allocations for scarce curriculum resources, "I want this" is at best heard as a preference but rarely accepted as a reason for the group to adopt a policy that will be binding on all. Public reasoning—reasoning in public—thus has its own moral imperative. Political requests and demands cannot be justified by

reference to individual likes and dislikes, provincial values, or religious scripture, and this moral imperative is all the more apparent and necessary when a diverse array of perspectives are present in the deliberation.

A second reason why multiple perspectives are a deliberative asset is that they contribute to social knowledge. Now we return to a problem discussed earlier—the necessary interaction of knowledge and decision making if praxis is to obtain rather than mere activity on the one hand or mere theorizing on the other. The point is this: group difference increases a diverse society's collective knowledge base which in turn enlightens its public decision making, and it does so in at least two ways. One is by enlarging each participant's knowledge of people and perspectives beyond his or her own social position and experience. As Melissa Williams writes (2000, 131-132), "pluralism enhances deliberation because it expands the number of alternative understandings of a problem we can entertain in attempting to resolve it." This assumes that participants are listening to one another, of course, and thereby learning how social problems and events look from various perspectives, learning of alternative solutions heretofore unimagined, and learning something about life as it is lived in other social positions. One's horizon is broadened. One's understanding of social life is widened—"horizontalized"—and this way, paradoxically perhaps, *deepened*, thanks to a multiplicity of perspectives present in a deliberation, and the problem at hand can thus be understood in broader terms.

Another way social knowledge is advantaged by group difference is that the presence of multiple perspectives increases the likelihood that dominant norms and practices are subjected to observation and critique. It is no coincidence that groups excluded from participation in the larger civic realm have again and again directed the attention of those who are comfortably included to the persistence of injustice and the extent of hypocrisy, and it is they who have demanded that the gaps be closed. The democratic struggle in the United States has actually *relied* upon those barred from the *unum* to deepen and extend the democracy the Founders created. It was from the outskirts of the public square, from the "corners of American society," that Martin Luther King, Jr. came in 1963 to Washington, DC to say, "We have come to cash this check" (2000, 1). And it was from the Birmingham city jail that he wrote, "We know from painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed" (1963, 80). The purpose of the civil rights movement was not to alter the American Dream, but to fulfill it. The Founders may have been the birth parents of democracy, American-style, but those who were excluded (then and now) became the adoptive, nurturing parents.

When constitutionally protected liberties (in the U.S. context, First Amendment protections) are vigorously enforced, the primary sources of

criticism of established conventions of thought and action are kept alive. To reduce this diversity dangerously removes from public spaces the debate, boycotts, and direct action that challenge the status quo. Carole Gould (1996, 173) writes, to reduce diversity is to undercut "the creativity that issues forth in imaginative critique and rejection of existing agreement and in the generation of new and unexpected frameworks for agreement." This is known especially well, again, by peoples who are excluded from the mainstream culture where the dominant norms of social life are made. These subordinated groups are forced to take advantage of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of association to do just that—to create underground factions where there is the potential for unrepressed, candid discourse. Historically, these have been key sites for interventionist politics. The point here is that without diverse viewpoints there can hardly be constructive or deconstructive criticism of the dominant viewpoint, and without that there can be nothing of the creative problem solving needed to deal with the actual problems and always-changing circumstances of life.

Conclusion

I have sketched briefly the deliberative approach to democratic education and spent the bulk of the paper addressing two challenges facing it: that it privileges doing over a balanced approach of knowing-and-doing, and that deliberation cannot be authentic or equitable given present social hierarchies. These are penetrating problems, and they cannot be bracketed. I believe there is room to work productively in both problem areas and in this way to strengthen the deliberative approach to education for democracy. I have concentrated here on supplementing deliberation with another discussion form, seminar, that seeks understanding as a partner to decision making while maintaining the "distinctive and peculiar contribution which discussion has to play" (Bridges 1979, 50). I have concentrated also on (a) helping participants develop the skills of deep listening across difference and (b) teaching participants explicitly about the deliberative benefits of diversity.

If we are to be serious in this work, and practical, then what is needed are courses of study as well as a variety of deliberative forums in which democracy and difference can be experienced directly and decisions made about the problems of daily living together in schools and other public places. Educated in this way, students may be better equipped to deliberate not only intractable domestic problems, such as the persistence of racism and the intensification of poverty, but to deliberate with students in other nations the pressing world problems that the world's people must now solve (e.g., the coming water shortage; the North-South gap; the spread of

infectious diseases). This would make a fitting capstone course for twelfth-grade students (see Parker 2003, chapter 6). If we are fortunate, students will not only deepen their knowledge and hone their deliberative competencies but actually help solve these problems.

I said at the beginning of this chapter that, in my judgment, such an approach should anchor a school curriculum for democracy. I do not mean to suggest that it should consume all the available curriculum space devoted to this end, however. Powerful service learning programs (Boyle-Baise 2002) certainly have a place as do programs that allow (and enable) students to direct portions of their own learning, choosing topic, medium, method, and message. Deliberation deserves a privileged place in such a curriculum, however, for three reasons: First, deliberation is what democrats do in their role as democrats; that is, they *govern*. Therefore, deliberative education is straightforward education for democracy. Second, deliberation produces democratic publics. Third, deliberation requires shared attention not only to decision making on the problems of living together but to knowledge and power.

Notes

1. On this with/for distinction, see Parker and Hess (2001).
2. *National Issues Forum in the Classroom*, a program of the Kettering Foundation, is available from Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., Dubuque, Iowa. See also *Project Citizen* (Patrick, Vontz, and Nixon 2002).
3. I elaborate on the seminar/deliberation distinction in Parker (2003, chapter 7).
4. This section draws heavily on chapter 5 of Parker (2003).
5. Young (1990) revives existentialist authors' conception of "finding oneself" (versus "making oneself") a member of a group or participant in a particular set of circumstances. See Heidegger (1962).
6. Young (1997) and Arendt (1958), among others, have revisited this Aristotelian notion.

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7

Methods of Teaching Democracy to Teachers and Curriculum Developers: Examples from Post-Communist Europe

Gregory E. Hamot

Recent developments in world affairs bear witness to the importance of democratically oriented public education in maintaining a peaceful and progressive society. When the system of public education collapses, education of youth stands the chance of falling prey to forces within the private sector that manipulate and propagate an ideological agenda antithetical to the well being of society as a whole, as well as the fragile nature of the individual within society. For example, *madrasahs* are Islamic religious schools that afford free education, food, housing, and clothing to the poor and disenfranchised in Middle Eastern countries where secular educational systems have collapsed. Fundamentalist Islamic factions that conduct the most extreme *madrasahs* base their educational methods exclusively on religious instruction at the total cost of mathematics, science, social studies and other secular subjects important for citizenship education in a modern, and especially democratic, society (Stern 2000, 119). The world witnessed the possible results of such an educational system on September 11, 2001.

The case of Eastern and Central Europe after the dissolution of communism, although different on many key levels, held several important analogies to the dire situation of secular, public education in many Middle Eastern societies. The immediate absence of communism left behind a philosophically vacuous educational system that stood unprotected from the postcolonial residuals of a totalitarian society. Soviet "colonization" of Eastern and Central Europe systemically destroyed the previous educational agenda

set forth by many of the newly independent states of the region that were formed by the Treaty of Versailles. Homogenization of individual and cultural nuances became the goal of educational systems throughout the Soviet sphere of influence. The mandate to create *homo sovieticus* in the likeness of a dogmatically utopic social image became the mission of schools (Zinoviev 1985).

The methodology for promulgating such a society focused on developing a common psychological framework based exclusively on an ideal social system as set forth in the works of Marx and Lenin. The strategies employed to support such an educational methodology restricted student contemplation on problems and issues in society because, in a utopia, no social problems and issues exist. Censorship of countervailing philosophies, mundane classroom activities promoting student integration into an unquestionable social order, and extreme ideological patriotism formed the basis of the educational systems throughout the region (Szebenyi 1991, 610; Hamot 1997). Historical realities such as Stalin's anti-educational reform posture and the post-Stalinist "thaw" fostered under Khrushchev and continued unevenly until 1991 brought about variations of approach to the educational mission of the school, but little methodological change. The methodology remained anchored in the belief that Marx had defined the universal utopia, and therefore only the means to achieve this *a priori* end needed occasional adjustment of its agenda. The fall of communism left a gap in the mission of schools in the region. As noted by John J. Patrick (1996), the need to fill this gap in short order prompted many of these countries to turn to the United States and other Western democracies for assistance in retooling their educational systems with a democratic orientation.

This chapter draws upon ten years of experience in working with post-communist educators on curriculum development and teacher education projects for their respective countries. Three cross-cultural curriculum development projects with the Czech Republic, Armenia, and Bulgaria constitute the specific experiential sources. The knowledge gained through these experiences is brought to bear on a view of teacher education and curriculum development suitable for democratic transformations now evident since the dissolution of communism in Eastern and Central Europe. The preferred mode of associated living known as democracy—and its accompanying habit of mind known as the method of intelligence, or the reflective method—form the basis of the methodology developed for the education of teachers and curriculum developers from this region. In every sense, these experiences have brought to educators in established democracies such as the United States a revitalization of their mission to teach for democratic citizenship.

Methods for What?

The term "teaching methodology" refers frequently to the actual practices employed by a teacher that promote learning in a classroom situation. However, use of the term as such concentrates on the strategies for teaching, rather than a warranted philosophical approach that leads to habitual action with a defined plan and in a defined order. This chapter employs the latter definition of the term and treats "teaching strategies" as a subset of activities that support the assumptions and beliefs of one's teaching methodology.

Assumptions. Each teaching methodology rests on a set of assumptions and beliefs that lead to a sense of best instructional practice and an understanding of the circumstances under which students learn with optimum results. In the United States, democratic citizenship education is a fundamental assumption on which the whole school experience functions. With little variation, curriculum theorists, instructional designers, standards writers, and teacher educators have focused on the concept of democracy in some form or another as their working assumption. Additionally, U.S. teachers and researchers have been able to base their work on a long, evolutionary tradition that can be traced through the intellectual, social, and political history of their country.

Conversely, citizenship education reformers in the post-communist societies of Eastern and Central Europe have had to move with compelling speed toward the generally accepted social mandate of democratization. Faced withe the urgency to reinvent citizenship education, reformers in post-communist Europe started with little historical context, democratic pedagogical tradition, or luxury of time to formulate educational assumptions or beliefs ("Amendment" 1991, 80).

Beliefs. Dewey noted that a guiding belief in educational endeavors "provides working hypotheses of comprehensive application" (Dewey 1929, 54). Within the framework of citizenship education in post-communist democracies and the United States, the prevailing belief is liberal democracy. However, unlike totalitarian visions of utopia, democracy can take on various meanings based on different settings and at different points in time (Dewey 1939/1989; Griffin 1942/1992). Consequently, liberal democracy is as recent as its emergence in Eastern and Central Europe after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Given the fluid nature of truth and reality in a liberal democracy, it is not surprising to find education theorists in the United States who advocate different interpretations of the concept. For example, Bahmueller gathered an international consensus on the elements of democracy that should be the core of any curriculum dedicated to democratic citizenship, and he developed a framework based on the "liberal-constitutional" view of

democracy. This framework included equality before the law, limited constitutional government, an open civil society, "as well as such elements of 'democracy,' narrowly conceived, as the conduct of free, fair, and regular elections; the secret ballot; and universal suffrage" (Bahmueller 1997, 103). With a focus on the reflective process, Hunt and Metcalf anchored the concept of democracy in the examination of society's "closed areas" such as capitalism, social class, race, sex, and religion (Hunt and Metcalf 1955). Oliver and Shaver narrowed the vision a bit by basing democracy on the unquestionably fixed moral principle of individual human dignity as a baseline for decision making through reflective inquiry (Oliver and Shaver 1966). Engle and Ochoa viewed the essence of democracy as the understanding of societal norms (socialization) and the open-minded reconsideration of these norms through individual constructions of reality (countersocialization) (Engle and Ochoa 1988). Others have defined the concept of democracy through the basic competencies required to act as an effective citizen in a democracy (e.g., Newmann, Bertocci, and Landness 1977; Remy 1980; Hartoonian 1985). Most recently, proposals for citizenship education reform based on a conception of liberal democracy range from feminist perspectives (Foster 1997; Bloom 1998) to postmodern interpretations (Gilbert 1997).

In light of these varying interpretations of democracy, the need to form a universal belief appears not only fruitless, but manifestly unnecessary (Parker 1996). Such a proposition would seemingly be based on "illiberal" democratic thinking. When taken to an international level, the search for a universally pervasive belief system is even more problematic. As noted by philosopher Jacques Barzun (1987), if the concept of democracy cannot be defined precisely, then it cannot be exported by one society to another due to the great historical variances found between different cultural groups. This notion resonates with Rousseau's extension of the *Social Contract*, titled *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (Rousseau 1772). When asked to draw up a constitution for Poland's short-lived democracy (it was tri-partitioned out of existence in 1795), Rousseau, in true liberal democratic style, declined the task by noting that no beliefs apply cross-culturally; the social, cultural, and historical context of each individual country drives the conceptualization and subsequent application of democracy.

Nonetheless, there is a concept known as "liberal democracy," and many post-communist nations of Eastern and Central Europe now embrace this concept as their preferred form of social existence. The seeming lack of universal agreement on the concept of liberal democracy does not preclude its cross-cultural adaptability on certain, specific points. In each of the following cases, variations on the meaning of liberal democracy that are steeped in cultural norms—not only as a basis for educational reform, but

also as an agreed upon social arrangement—formed the foundation for developing methods of teaching democracy to teachers and curriculum developers from post-communist Europe.

The Projects

Although Barzun may be correct in his thesis that democracy cannot be exported, he does not deny its possibility for importation. Given the urge by post-communist societies to construct and energize school systems dedicated to the nurturing of democratic citizens, importation of content and strategies for methods in citizenship education avoids the pitfall of failed replication and brings about the advantage of using tested and successful measures in schooling. However, without some semblance of principles to guide an established democracy in assisting developing democracies in reforming citizenship education, the error of exportation may likely occur. For instance, many short-term workshops and seminars that offered little residual effect for the host country took place in post-communist Europe immediately following the fall of communism. During an interview with former Solidarity member Dr. Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz, she noted the disdain that developed for these so-called "Marriott bandits" as they came, presented, and left with no intention of continuing their involvement in systemic, long term educational change in the host country (Hamot 1995).

With this caveat in mind, citizenship education reform projects sponsored by the United States Department of State and conducted by The University of Iowa College of Education and various governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations in the Czech Republic, Armenia, and Bulgaria maintained their collaboration through sustained and continuous programs aimed at systemic educational change. These projects held a core belief that bringing about educational reform for democratic citizenship in post-communist societies required the development of a methodology and accompanying strategies for not only immediately available precollegiate courses, but also teacher education programs and curriculum development initiatives. To do so on a meaningful and useful collaborative basis meant the importation of ideas from the United States that suited the socio-cultural context of each post-communist country involved in these projects.

A Project with the Czech Republic. The "Citizenship Education for the Czech Republic" (CECR) project was a collaborative partnership between The University of Iowa College of Education and the Charles University Institute for Educational Research and Development. Beginning in 1989, civic education reform in the Czech Republic sought to eliminate Marxist-Leninist perspectives in the historical, philosophical, and social science content of the curriculum; to reintroduce the study of religion into the

curriculum; to renew the study of Czech history, culture, heritage, and geography; and to move from expository to active teaching and learning in the classroom (Hamot 1997). This project sought to pursue this ideal for civic education reform through two goals.

First, CECR targeted the redesign of citizenship education practice at the secondary school level. The existing social studies curriculum, put in place after the fall of communism in 1989, set the content for this course. The Institute for Educational Research and Development, in consultation with Ministry of Education officials and Charles University faculty, decided that the third form of secondary schools (17 and 18 years old students) was the most appropriate level for implementation of a new citizenship education curriculum. To achieve this goal, the U.S. and Czech project directors organized two workshops for a team of five Czech teachers and scholars chosen by the Czech project co-director as the curriculum writing team. The first workshop, held in Prague, centered on curriculum design and pedagogical methods crucial to citizenship education in the Czech Republic. During the second workshop, the Czech curriculum team took up residence at The University of Iowa College of Education for three months. This workshop resulted in the first draft of the reformed citizenship education curriculum for Czech secondary schools. This draft included 21 instructional units containing 63 lessons, all of which were based on the existing content areas normally taught in the first form.

The second goal of the project focused on an evaluation of the desired outcomes (knowledge, skills, and dispositions) commonly associated with life in a democracy and conceived by the Czech curriculum team in consultation with U.S. scholars in citizenship education during their residency in Iowa. After a workshop with U.S. and Dutch research and evaluation experts in Prague, Czech researchers gathered empirical evidence on this curriculum reform effort during a field test of the draft curriculum conducted in a nationally representative sample of Czech schools. These data led to revisions of the entire curriculum for final publication and use in Czech secondary schools and as the basis for teacher education programs throughout the republic.

A Project with Armenia. The "Education for Democratic Citizenship in Armenia" (EDCA) project was a collaborative effort between The University of Iowa College of Education and the Armenian Ministry of Education. With the fall of communism, the Armenian Ministry of Education eliminated the Soviet-imposed civic education course titled "Man and Society." This course, heavily laced with Marxist-Leninist ideology, no longer served a purpose in the Armenian transition to democracy.

Unlike the Czech Republic, however, Armenia did not take immediate steps to replace this course with one dedicated to education for effective

democratic citizenship, nor to reintroduce curricula more suited to democratic pedagogical and philosophical principles. Seventy years of communism and a long history of subjugation by foreign interests left the Armenians with no previous experience on which to build or to reintroduce curriculum for a free and open society. As a result, consultations with Ministry of Education officials, university and pedagogical institute rectors, and Armenian teachers led to the purpose of this project: filling the need for a completely new course in citizenship education for students and teachers. Further discussions led to the project goal of developing a framework and accompanying instructional materials for the first citizenship education course in Armenia since the fall of communism. This course targeted the seventh grade—the penultimate level of compulsory schooling in Armenia. The Armenian and U.S. project directors designed a three phase project aimed at fulfilling this overarching goal.

During Phase I, a U.S. project director visited Armenia to work with the Ministry of Education on three objectives: (a) conducting a workshop for Armenian teachers on citizenship education curriculum development, (b) choosing a six-member Armenian curriculum writing team of teachers and scholars, and (c) preparing the specifications for the materials to be developed. This visit resulted in an agreement for the new course to contain a curriculum framework as a content guide for teachers who would teach this new course and to include sample lessons for implementing this framework. Phase I concluded when the Armenian curriculum writing team attended a two-week workshop at The University of Iowa. Immediately prior to this workshop, the Armenian team conducted interviews with key informants in Armenia in order to settle on the core knowledge needed for this new course. Upon their arrival in Iowa City, the Armenian team focused on the theory and design of a curriculum framework for citizenship education.

Six weeks later, Phase II began as a three-month curriculum development workshop held on The University of Iowa campus. During this workshop, the Armenian team consulted with U.S. scholars in civic education and curriculum design, finalized their curriculum framework, and developed sample instructional materials that exemplified the knowledge, skills, and dispositions embedded in their framework.

Phase III consisted of two stages. First, the draft curriculum framework and instructional materials underwent critical review by a team of Armenian scholars in the social and behavioral sciences, history, special education, philosophy, and pedagogy. Second, a nationally representative sample of Armenian teachers and their students field tested the new curriculum. Subsequent final revisions, based on the field test, completed Phase III and led to an ongoing, extensive teacher education program for professional development based on the new curriculum.

A Project with Bulgaria. "Citizenship Education Curriculum Development for Bulgaria" (CECDB) is a continuing project conducted jointly by The University of Iowa College of Education and the Open Education Centre in Sofia, Bulgaria. This project is the result of a gift presented by First Lady Hillary Clinton to the people of Bulgaria in February 1998.

With Bulgaria's liberation from totalitarian communism in 1989, various, uncoordinated citizenship education projects developed throughout the country. Major areas of concern for citizenship education reform centered on content related to free market economics and conflict resolution. However, these innovations did not represent a concentrated effort to develop a new curriculum (Armenian model), or to revise an existing curricular mandate into a citizenship education course (Czech model).

A preliminary meeting between the U.S. and Bulgarian project directors resulted in the overarching goal for CECDB to develop citizenship education curricula for all pre-collegiate grade levels in Bulgarian schools (i.e., primary school, secondary school, and high school). These three levels parallel generally the U.S. conception of schooling that includes elementary school, middle school or junior high school, and high school.

This project involved a two-phase approach to curriculum reform for citizenship education. However, this project was unique because the bulk of curriculum writing took place in Bulgaria. During the first phase of the project, one of the U.S. project directors visited Sofia to observe the curriculum writing process being implemented by the Bulgarian team. Unlike the lesson format adopted in the Czech and Armenian projects, the Bulgarian team, in consultation with over sixty Bulgarian teachers, wrote lesson scenarios for teachers to use as narrative guides on the basic elements of citizenship education.

CECDB's second phase took place at The University of Iowa College of Education, where the Bulgarian curriculum team took up residence and completed the first draft of the high school course. During this phase, the Bulgarians participated in workshops with U.S. scholars in citizenship education and curriculum design to evaluate and improve the first draft of the new courses. Additionally, the Bulgarian team attended classes conducted by Iowa City teachers and experienced various teaching methods on all three levels for which the curriculum was intended. At present, the new curriculum is in publication after extensive field testing. Teacher education seminars based on the curriculum have been underway as an integral part of the field testing and subsequent refinement and implementation of the curriculum.

Guiding Principles

Over time, four guiding principles emerged for working with post-communist democracies in developing teaching methods and curriculum design aimed at educational reform. These guiding principles stem from experiences in conducting these programs and analytical categories drawn from cross-cultural psychology (Hamot 1999). Together, these experiences and analytical categories worked to address the following fundamental questions developed by Tyler (1949) as starting points for curriculum development:

1. What educational purposes should the [project] seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (Tyler 1949, 1)

Principle 1: Guiding Philosophy and Educational Purpose. The answer to Tyler's first question can be found in the new socio-political contexts of these three post-communist democracies that the U.S. participants needed to understand in order for them to conceptualize teacher education and curriculum reform. Among these three cases, differences in socio-political context raised important issues in philosophical approaches to educational reform that illustrated slightly uncommon versions of democratic theory and pedagogical practice. Additionally, each case differed from the United States.

Given this situation, the first guiding principle for developing methods of teaching democracy grows from the need to understand the socio-political context for which the curriculum is intended. *The development of a common understanding or guiding belief and the educational purposes implied by this philosophy form the foundation on which successful citizenship education reform projects will take place.* In following this principle, curriculum specialists and teacher educators will share a common base from which to develop the content and pedagogical practices needed to support the purpose of a reformed educational methodology as an instrument in the process of democratization.

To do otherwise could steer the curriculum toward a model unsuited to the target population. The differences between conceptions of democracy and citizenship in the United States and a transitional democracy indicated, on certain matters, that some educational issues may be simply irreconcilable. When situations of this sort arose, project participants returned to the commonly understood guiding belief so as not to mar the overall educational purpose of the reformed initiative. Thus, the first guiding principle implies

the importance of knowing the socio-political context in order to fulfill an educational purpose based on a commonly understood set of beliefs.

This principle addresses the viability of U.S. democratic philosophy in relation to that of a developing democracy. The uniqueness of each context, although at times very subtle, still dictated a guiding belief in liberal democracy. This belief reveals itself in the culturally bound nature of the learner, nature of society, and the organized subject matter in each post-communist context; thereby giving purpose to methods for teaching democracy.

Principle 2: Providing Educational Experiences. The first principle sets attainable objectives founded on a mutually understood guiding belief in democracy. The second principle involves the new cultural experiences offered to the teacher educators and curriculum writers while in the United States and the usefulness of these experiences in attaining the objectives of educational reform. Essentially, these new cultural experiences helped to answer Tyler's second question: "What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?"

Taken together, programmatic aspects of each project moved the participants from their initial conceptions of citizenship education to the limits of possibility offered by the socio-political context of the United States. The theoretical and practical objectives met by these experiences formed the core of the second guiding principle. *Established theoretical ideas in citizenship education, when combined with their practical application, offer new cultural experiences that are most likely to give birth to educational experiences aimed at fulfilling the purpose of citizenship education curriculum reform and teacher education.*

Although the post-communist participants' new cross-cultural experiences in the United States held promise for new methods of teaching democracy, at times they expanded beyond the capabilities of the developing democracy's students and teachers. Here, the next guiding principle played an important part in fusing the new socio-political context of each country with new cultural experiences in an effectively organized and attainable pattern.

Principle 3: Monitoring and Organizing Cultural Adaptation. Experiences in these three projects implied that cultural adaptation of democratic theory and educational practice from one setting may lead to a reformed teaching methodology unsuitable for the intended socio-political context. These three projects indicated the need to offer new experiences from which to choose possible knowledge, skills, and dispositions for adaptation into teaching methods for democracy. Nonetheless, the alternative experiences offered and the decisions that were made on whether or not to include these alternatives beg Tyler's third question: "How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?"

When organizing the educational experiences that give life to the new curriculum and teacher education programs, project participants must avoid the possible clash between the curricular alternatives experienced while working with established democracies and the limits of possibility in their home societies. Avoiding this possible conflict while balancing the new socio-political context with new cultural experiences leads to the third guiding principle. *The effective organization of educational experiences for democratic citizenship requires a monitoring of cultural adaptations to insure that these adaptations reach for, but do not exceed, the limits of possibility within the socio-political context of the population for which the reformed curriculum and teaching methodology are intended.* Otherwise, the application of the reform initiative to the intended socio-political context may result in organized educational experiences that confuse rather than assist students as well as preservice and inservice teachers during their development into democratic citizens as well as educators for a democratic society.

Principle 4: Formative Evaluation of the Outcome. The observable characteristic, or outcome, of projects for democratic citizenship education is the product. The product in each of these projects was the first draft of a course on citizenship for use in the schools and teacher education programs of the developing democracies. However, the probability that the newly reformed curriculum will achieve its educational purpose is strictly speculative until it is evaluated. As Tyler asked, "How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?"

One answer to Tyler's question is the level of correlation between the first draft of the curriculum and each project's objectives. In each of these cases, the U.S. project directors traveled to the developing democracy to meet with ministry officials, members of leading non-governmental educational organizations, pedagogical scholars, and teachers. These meetings served the purpose of setting objectives for each project. These objectives varied from project to project due to the differences in each country's new socio-political context. However, these predetermined objectives offered criteria for formative evaluation of the outcomes, or observable characteristics, of each project. These objectives offered benchmarks for determining whether or not each reformed curriculum achieved its educational purposes in relation to its new socio-political context. Therefore, the fourth guiding principle builds upon the other three. *A systematic formative evaluation of the project's observable characteristics will increase the possibility for achieving its educational purposes by centering on the guiding democratic beliefs and by monitoring the cultural adaptability of the newly developed educational experiences.* Constant monitoring of the curriculum development process, as well as rigorous field testing of the product, worked to secure curricular suitability for both schools and teacher education programs in these respective transitional democracies.

Principles and Practice

These guiding principles evolved in various ways throughout the three projects. As need for adjustment arose, changes to each project took effect. These changes helped bring about the development of the four guiding principles and, in a form of mutual shaping, the guiding principles worked to initiate changes. From the beginning, these principles emerged from the methods and practices employed in each project and helped shape each project's outcomes. The relation between the principles and practices employed in each project shaped the methods for teaching democracy to teachers and curriculum developers from these three countries. An account of the mutual shaping between project practice and guiding principles sets forth the methods for teaching democracy that apply most generally in not only these three national cases, but possibly throughout the entire post-communist world.

Defining Democracy Within Its Context. Each of these projects strove for democratic citizenship education curriculum reform within new socio-political contexts. The countries involved in these projects began to formulate new socio-political contexts after the fall of communism. For the Czech Republic and Bulgaria, these changes began in 1989 and 1990 respectively. In Armenia, these changes began with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The approach to understanding and implementing democratic social and political behaviors in these three developing democracies is simultaneously similar and different.

Each of these cases shares similarities with the other two. Most obvious is their collective emergence from communism. Historically, experience with democracy in each case differs from the others. The same is true regarding ethnic makeup and, to a lesser degree, regarding constitutionalism. Given these similarities and differences, each approach to curriculum reform for democratic citizenship education is unique in philosophical interpretations of democracy, but somewhat similar in requisite skills and attitudes.

Moreover, the differences between the newly democratic socio-political contexts of these three post-communist countries and the more established socio-political context of the United States was problematic to each project. For instance, the notion of individual liberty, so dear to U.S. citizens, is held in equal status with group rights in many Eastern and Central European interpretations of democracy. The new socio-political contexts in these countries, as reflected in their constitutions, include a communitarian interpretation of democracy to a much greater degree than does the Constitution of the United States. Ignoring this difference could have led the curriculum reform process to a stalemate on the appropriate interpretations of certain subject matter such as free market economics and social entitlements.

In order to grasp these differing interpretations of democracy, an element of each project included visits by the U.S. directors to each of these nations in order to understand better their new socio-political context. These visits took place before the projects moved to The University of Iowa for each curriculum team's extended residence. Preparation for these visits included intensive study of each country and the region, including its educational system, previous national experiences with democracy, and primary source documents upon which an understanding of each country's form of democracy was based. Additionally, these preliminary visits included seminars with the curriculum team members that not only aided in conceptualizing each projects goals, but also acted to help the U.S. project directors understand the unique post-communist character of each of these developing nations. These preliminary meetings allowed for the U.S. project directors to prepare each team's residency with a sensitivity toward their individual socio-political needs.

Additionally, the Eastern and Central European partners involved in each of these projects considered U.S. students to be "partners" in their learning experiences to a greater extent than students in the Czech Republic, Armenia, or Bulgaria. Consequently, existing pedagogical limitations—mainly hierarchical vestiges from the past that still exist in these new socio-political contexts—influenced the sorts of teaching strategies employed in the reformed curricula. The preliminary visits to each country by the U.S. project directors helped them to understand these limitations first hand by witnessing classroom practice at several schools throughout each country.

Educational Experiences. Each project included a sustained residency at The University of Iowa College of Education. These residencies ranged from 6 to 12 weeks in duration. Although each curriculum team's main goal was the establishment of a new curriculum for democratic citizenship education, this task could have been attempted without leaving their home countries.

The need to establish a residency component arose from several factors. First, each team member held professional and family commitments from which little time to write a new curriculum could be encumbered. Competing with normal tasks of life would have slowed or precluded the curriculum writing process. Meeting times would be difficult to arrange and observation of exemplary classroom practice would be impossible due to scheduling problems. Second, access to resources for developing the curriculum, especially in the form of methods texts and curricular materials, would be limited. Having the library and computer facilities of a large research university at their disposal made the investigation of such sources quicker and more efficient. Third, the projects' specifications included exposure of

the teams to experts in academic and educational areas not readily available in their home countries.

Given the need to explore the limits of possibility within each new socio-political context, the cross-cultural experiences organized for the curriculum teams while in the United States constituted the new experiences that led to reform in citizenship education. Offering a wide variety of experiences to the curriculum team members, while they developed and revised their newly reformed curriculum, allowed them the opportunity to make judgments on the viability of implementing or adapting new content and pedagogical practices offered by the U.S. model of citizenship education.

The residency of the curriculum teams allowed for several key opportunities that addressed the second guiding principle concerning the provision of educational experiences. These experiences included structured workshops, observation of classrooms, teacher partnerships, and educational field trips. Two project experiences, in particular, held great value for the curriculum teams as opportunities to judge the viability of U.S. citizenship education in their curricula. First, curriculum team members were assigned teacher partners from the Iowa City Community School District and professor partners from The University of Iowa College of Education. The U.S. project directors chose these partners based on a match in content and pedagogical interests. The goal of the partnership component was to allow for less formalized feedback on the curriculum products under development or evaluation. The pairs of partners arranged their meeting times and conducted their substantive discussions without the intervention of the U.S. project directors or project staff.

Second, this component allowed for school and university classroom visits by all three teams of curriculum writers. These experiences enhanced the professional development of the team members by introducing them to teaching techniques and course planning typical of U.S. educational practice. Some of these experiences led the curriculum teams to borrow content and pedagogical practices heretofore unknown in their schools, but that were adaptable to each country's new socio-political context and, thus, their reformed curricula. During these visits, the team members were able to experience the theory to which they were exposed through actual classroom practice.

Additionally, small workshops conducted by academic experts in economics, service learning, constitutionalism, special education, and inquiry based pedagogy highlighted the cross-cultural aspect of each project. Various field trips to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Annual Meeting, the Great Lakes NCSS Conference, and the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting gave the teams exposure to a variety of research and professional development experiences.

The variety of ideas to which they were exposed allowed them to experience various approaches to the methodology and strategies involved in teaching democratic citizenship. Taken together, these educational experiences moved each team to a conceptualization of some teaching methods and curriculum design that would have been difficult at best if attempted in their home countries. The panoply of ideas experienced during their residency in the United States may have led to the development of teaching methodologies and curricula unsuited to their particular situations. Here, a critically important aspect of learning methods for teaching democracy relied upon the third guiding principle concerning the organization of such experiences.

Effective Educational Organization. As is the case in designing any methods course, care must be taken in the appropriate choice and organization of ideas, strategies, and materials. Dewey noted the nature of society as an important factor a teacher must consider when designing a course (1902, 4-8). When dealing with teacher education and curriculum design cross-culturally, this societal factor becomes magnified in its complexity.

Cultural adaptation represents the point where the new socio-political context and new experiences blend and give life to a new curriculum for citizenship education. New experiences, when perceived through the lens of a new socio-political context, leave the individual with certain alternatives. In the case of cross-cultural curriculum reform for democratic citizenship education, these alternatives encompass the new knowledge, skills, and dispositions that have been learned during new experiences and that become candidates for adaptation to the new socio-political context. Cultural adaptation also includes a decision-making process in which the team members must utilize a discriminating psychological framework that leads to the development of the new curriculum.

In these projects, myriad alternatives on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions required for democratic citizenship education were placed into consideration for the team members. In so doing, the U.S. project directors and staff urged the curriculum teams to consider constantly the new socio-political context of their country when observing and considering the many alternatives offered. The constant consideration of the most culturally adaptive alternatives concerning knowledge, skills, and dispositions came about as the result of each project's core element: the curriculum seminar.

The curriculum seminar model adapted for these three projects was developed by Richard C. Remy at the Mershon Center of The Ohio State University. Remy, working with two curriculum development teams from Poland, organized weekly meetings with the project participants to accomplish, among other goals, the following: product development, flexibility, and

reflective feedback (Remy 1996, 70-73). In the Czech, Armenian, and Bulgarian projects, participants met with the U.S. project directors on a weekly basis to gauge their progress toward accomplishing their observable outcome, which was the reformed curriculum. These seminars offered avenues for change that may have come about due to the realization by team members that certain previous assumptions and goals needed revision. Overall, the seminar model allowed for team members to reflect on their experiences and writing tasks as a group and with the U.S. project directors. As such, the curriculum seminar model proved instrumental in organizing and monitoring the work of the team members as they infused new ideas into their curriculum design and teaching strategies. Additionally, these seminars forestalled any efforts to unknowingly move beyond the present socio-political context of the home country with regard to curriculum adaptability.

An example of understanding the cultural adaptability of certain knowledge, skills, and dispositions came about during project activities devoted to the teaching strategy known as community service learning. The University of Iowa College of Education has a nationally recognized program in community service learning that is an essential component of its elementary social studies preservice teacher education program. The U.S. directors offered the curriculum teams a chance to experience community service learning as a critically important component of democratic citizenship education. In each case, the curriculum team members became intrigued by the value of this skill and its concomitant development of democratic dispositions. However, only through seminar discussions on community service learning did the U.S. project directors realize the past meaning of community service and the negative implications this sort of activity may have if included in these reformed curricula. Under communism, community service was mandated by the state as a requirement of citizenship. Although community service learning in the United States grows from student input in all phases of such projects, the U.S. directors learned that the notion itself would not be readily accepted by teachers and parents in these developing democracies. This activity was not yet adaptable to the curriculum teams' new socio-political contexts due to the totalitarian baggage of communism.

Communication through the curriculum seminars played a major role in determining the appropriateness of new experiences the writers decided to adapt for their reformed curricula. In addition, the curricula themselves were another crucially important source for monitoring the appropriateness of decisions based on the alternatives offered by these new experiences. The goal in each of these projects was to advance the notion of democratic citizenship beyond the existing, traditional curriculum of each participating country. However, socio-political context may not have allowed for huge

leaps forward in curriculum development that were based on the programs experienced by the curriculum teams while in the United States.

An example of this dilemma can be found in the decision-making process on an area of content offered for consideration in two of these projects. An important aspect of democratic citizenship is the understanding of free market economics. Miller (1996, 26) noted the relation of economic literacy to the role of the citizen in a democratic society as "rooted in the idea that economics provides a set of conceptual tools to help citizens think about their government's relationship to the economy and the many economic issues citizens in a democratic society face." The Czech and Armenian projects included a workshop on free market economics. Invariably, the teams deemed the concepts difficult for their students, but necessary for inclusion in their curricula. However, when the curriculum team members who prepared the units on free market economics presented these units for review during a curriculum seminar, the other team members and the U.S. project directors realized the unadaptability of these materials. The decisions made by the Czech and Armenian writers on free market economics became too adaptive of U.S. perspectives on this content and were not appropriate for the new socio-political contexts of these two developing democracies. The wide differences in free market economic maturity between the United States and each of these countries dictated a much different approach to this essential content.

Determining Attainment of Purpose. The interplay between the new socio-political context and the cultural adaptability of new experiences leads to the observable characteristic, or the actual product. Tyler's fourth question, "How can we determine if these purposes are being attained?", and the guiding principle that answers this question help to reveal the similarities and differences between each case with regard to the final product. All of these projects sought to reform curricula for democratic citizenship education, and the outcomes of each project achieved this overarching goal. Obversely, each project included different objectives within the larger goal that derived from the uniqueness of each country's new socio-political context. Given the variation between each country's new context, a comparison of these curricula reveals differences that, at times, ran counter to the original expectations of the U.S. project directors and staff.

The outcomes of cross-cultural curriculum reform projects are dependent on the new socio-political context. Although all of these countries emerged from totalitarian communism at approximately the same time in history, the type of socio-political context they experienced under communism and their unique histories with and perspectives on democracy dictated different orientations for each curriculum.

However, each project resulted in surprising similarities and differences in curricular orientation. For example, the Czech and Armenian curricula took on many more points of similarity than difference with regard to the varying degrees of emphases placed on requisite knowledge, skills, and dispositions. In both of these curricula, the orientation relied heavily on the knowledge of democratic principles and philosophies, as well as the historical events that led to their development. The Bulgarian curriculum writers chose a path that was vastly different from the other two. Their curriculum emphasized the need for skill and disposition development. As a result, their curriculum placed knowledge in the position of background information that served the primary purpose of cultivating democratic skills and dispositions.

This finding is somewhat counterintuitive because Bulgaria and the Czech Republic were "satellite" countries caught in the gravitational orbit of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Armenia was a Soviet Republic, and, as such, a part of the Union's gravitational mass. The expectation that the Czech and Bulgarian curricula would hold more points of similarity—especially on the need for developing democratic skills and dispositions—would be a logical conclusion drawn from this reality. The similarities between the curricular orientation of the Czech and Armenian curricula and their differences with the Bulgarian curriculum point yet again to the importance of recognizing the foundation of each country's new socio-political context. The seemingly illogical results of this comparison stem from the fact that Bulgaria existed in a much more repressive totalitarian state than did the Czech Republic or Armenia. The hold of the Communist Party on the lives of the populace was more constrictive in Bulgaria than in the other two societies. The level of "learned helplessness," or the inability to make decisions for oneself, was still a major part of Bulgaria's new socio-political context. Thus, the Bulgarian curriculum writers believed that their socio-political reality begged a greater emphasis on the skills and dispositions needed for democratic citizenship than did either the Czech or Armenian curriculum writers.

Again, the need to understand the nuances between socio-political realities in each of these three countries played a major role in determining whether or not the outcomes had been met. Following Tyler's lead, what evaluative measures could determine curricular appropriateness for both teachers and students? One formative method for determining whether or not each project attained its purpose took place during the curriculum seminars as noted above. These weekly meetings acted as a platform to discuss each team member's work in a constructive manner. Checks and balances exercised during these sessions fostered a sense that the curriculum development process and product were on target. However, the ultimate analysis occurred when the curriculum teams took their newly developed

products back to experts, teachers, and students in their home countries for field testing and feedback. These evaluative means determined the adaptability of each curriculum for democratic citizenship education in schools and teacher education programs.

Implications

The central theme of this chapter focuses on the need for developed and transitional democracies to come to an agreement on key democratic beliefs before and during the conduct of projects dedicated to citizenship education reform. Within this agreement, the new socio-political context of the transitional democracy plays the most important role. This agreement frames the methods for teaching democracy to teachers and curriculum developers from transitional democracies.

The three projects analyzed here indicated that four guiding principals, beginning with the essential agreement on democratic beliefs, will guide teacher education reform and curriculum development in post-communist countries. These four principles emerged in programmatic practice that looked to a belief in liberal democracy that has no fixed, dogmatic end-in-view. In so doing, these projects resulted in cross-cultural educational experiences that were organized to align with shared liberal democratic beliefs and that resulted in curricula and teacher education programs tested successfully for their use in these three post-communist democracies.

These principles imply important guides for U.S. social studies teacher educators and teachers in three ways. First, the mission of schooling in a democratic society must look toward the development of students with a democratic habit of mind. These three projects indicated the need to search for and to exploit the socio-political contexts of each country in order to reinvent educational systems geared toward filling the gap left in Eastern and Central Europe after the fall of communism. In order to do so, exercising their democratic habit of mind through freedom of expression led the participants to decisions on the direction of their curriculum and teacher education programs, and it played a paramount role in fulfilling this need. In similar fashion, different contexts within the United States beg for variations on teacher education and curriculum development. These variations stem from the idiosyncratic versions of liberal democracy evident throughout the diverse regions of the United States and the local communities found within those regions. The democratic process by which the participants from both the developed and transitional democracies in these three projects mutually shaped the outcomes of each project holds promise for the regeneration of teacher education and curriculum development programs in the United States as they seek to meet the nationally similar, but also locally distinct, needs of their constituents.

Second, the implication for U.S. teacher educators and curriculum developers to bring together experiences appropriate for their various contexts is clear. Generic approaches to curriculum development and teacher education have much to offer, but they also may fail to address the basic need to begin with the experiences of their intended audience before expanding toward the limits of possibility within these contexts. Organizing the most appropriate experiences and formatively evaluating these experiences as they play into the development of the precollegiate or teacher education curriculum will guide the preparation of students and future teachers toward the goals set forth by the mission of schools in a democratic society.

Third, U.S. teacher educators and curriculum developers must follow through after students and prospective teachers have left the designed experiences. Constantly monitoring and evaluating the level of success brought about by their efforts will allow them to adjust constantly for future improvement. The lessons learned from Eastern and Central Europe speak directly to this last implication. The recent and ongoing International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement study of civic knowledge (subdivided into content and skills) in 28 countries reveals some startling conclusions. Regarding both teachers and students, the most successful programs for democratic citizenship education appear in the national results of Poland. The United States and the Czech Republic follow closely (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Given this finding, one may safely conclude that projects such as those discussed in this chapter contributed on some level to the abilities of teachers and students in Poland and the Czech Republic to achieve the highest levels of civic competence. Looking regionally and locally within the U.S. study results holds promise for using these findings to improve citizenship education and teacher education. This sort of monitoring, on a regular basis, should give much information to curriculum developers and teacher educators in the United States as they consider the refinement of their work as civic educators.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with the tragedy that can result from a breakdown of a country's secular public education system and its replacement by insidious interests. However, the tragedy goes beyond the victims of September 11, 2001 and the ensuing conflicts in the Middle East. For millions of children throughout the region, education will remain indoctrination antithetical to democracy and supportive of tortured dogmatic beliefs as a final solution to all human problems. As Dewey (1933) noted, indoctrination enslaves the young by denying their abilities to explore the world around them with an open, democratic habit of mind. It is no wonder, he goes on to note, that they grow into adulthood as true believers without the benefit

of evidence brought forth through open discussion to support or critique those beliefs.

Political scientist James L. Ray takes Dewey's educational warning to a politically global level. As the preeminent theorist and defender of the democratic peace proposition, Ray advanced the idea that democratic states do not initiate war against one another and therefore offer an avenue to universal peace (Ray 1993; 1995). Implicit in this theory is the notion that democracy is developed and nurtured by operationalizing the central mission of education in these states.

If Ray is correct, then the methods for teaching democracy that emerged from the three projects discussed in this chapter, and their implications for the United States, offer great hope. As long as people cherish the benefits of democracy, schools, curriculum developers, and teacher educators must work with each other in all socio-political contexts, whether new or established, where this desire exists. In so doing, children in the growing number of democratic countries will reap the benefits of a world at peace and dedicated to solving social problems by exercising the democratic habit of mind.

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8

Civic Learning in Teacher Education through an American-Ukrainian Partnership

Alden Craddock

The worldwide development and spread of democracy seemed an inevitability as people around the globe began their celebration of the new millennium, invoking hopes of a more peaceful future. How quickly things have changed in just two short years. During that short span we have witnessed a nuclear standoff between Pakistan and India, spiraling violence between Israel and the West Bank, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centers and Pentagon, a war in Afghanistan, and U.S. combat troops dispersed around the globe. Instead of the peace and prosperity expected from the dawning of global democracy, the world has experienced continued conflict often pitting democracies against other political regimes.

These conflicts have touched all democratic peoples and their governments. The ensuing instability has suppressed the economic and political growth necessary for the continued progress of democracy in all countries and undermined the confidence of democratic citizens and their political representatives. The need for reinforcing citizens' understanding of and support for democracy continues whether they live in an established or nascent democracy. One of the most proven ways to accomplish this increased citizen understanding and participation in politics is through formal education (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996, 2).

With these demands in mind, several organizations in two different countries have proposed to unite to promote democracy through preservice educational reform. In particular, these reforms focused on improving democratic citizenship through civic education generally defined as dealing "with all students in such a way to motivate them and enable them to play their parts as informed, responsible, committed and effective members of a modern democratic political system" (Butts 1980, 123).

The subsequent pages outline the context and plans for preservice civic education efforts in Ukraine and the role that the U.S. institutions will play to assist reforms in that country. This project involves the Civic Education Project of the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University, Bowling Green State University, and The University of Michigan in the United States. In addition, Drahomanov National Pedagogical University, National Pedagogical University, Ostroh National Academy, Zhytomyr Pedagogical University, and the Center for Civic Education NOVA DOBA are project partners in Ukraine. All of these organizations have made a commitment to conduct a project for the development of preservice teacher training courses, educator exchanges, and administrative reforms for promoting democracy through preservice teacher education.

The Ukrainian Context

Ukraine has advanced more slowly on the road toward significant political and economic reform than its Polish, Czech, and Hungarian neighbors, and the ultimate victory of democracy and free market economics in this strategically important nation of 50 million people cannot be taken for granted. Widespread problems of political and economic corruption threaten the stability of Ukrainian civil society, while all sectors of society struggle over the debate concerning Ukrainian civic identity. Indeed, there are two fundamental issues that are important to understand and address if Ukraine is to move forward with its democratic development. These issues concern national identity and the influence of its Soviet past.

In Search of a National Identity

Throughout the past, the geographical region now known as Ukraine has been the battlefield for multiple invasions from its more established neighbors. Indeed, the word "Ukraine" means "borderland" because this region has traditionally been viewed as the frontier for settlement by the peoples who surround it (Magocsi 1996; Reid 2000). The original peoples of the area were the Slavs who are thought to have ultimately settled in the other subsequent nations of the region. One of the first political entities of the region was the Kievan Rus, located in the middle Dnipro region, who either migrated to Russia or were conquered by invasions from the North, West, and East. A full treatment of the Rus and their history demands more space than is available here, but a general outline of the impact of these invasions is necessary to understand the multiple identities of present-day Ukrainians.[1]

Four nations have played major roles in the construction of current Ukrainian identity, and interestingly enough, each of these nation's influence

still corresponds roughly to geographical regions of Ukraine today. The area west of the Dnipro River, which roughly divides Ukraine in half, was colonized and controlled by people from Poland before and after Poland's own third partitioning in the latter half of the 18th century. During this time much of this same region was also invaded by Austria and ultimately included in the Austria-Hungarian empire. It is generally accepted that these colonial experiences have given the western areas of Ukraine a distinct identity. Although sharing elements of culture with other parts of Ukraine, the western region also includes its own unique mix of religions (including the Greek Catholic Church), languages (predominately speakers of Ukrainian but also including those who use Polish and German), and even the physical appearance of the cities (including classical and baroque architectures mixed with traditional Slavic and Ukrainian styles). This history of Western invasion is thought to have left this region of Ukraine with a more Western-style civil society and aspirations for a corresponding national identity. Indeed, the major city of western Ukraine, Lviv, also known as Lwów (Polish), Leimburg (German/Austrian), and Lvov (Russian), is considered the center of Ukrainian national aspirations.

The Russian Empire was largely in control of the geographic area east of the Dnipro. Although sharing the Slavic Kievan Rus ancestry, most Ukrainians consider Russians to be a separate and distinct ethnicity due to their history, language, and culture that was more influenced by the subjugation of the Mongolian hordes. A turning point in Ukrainian-Russian relations occurred when the Cossack Hetman Khmel'nyts'kyi signed the Pereislav Agreement (1686) seeking Tsarist support for Ukraine's independence from Poland. The Russian tsars later used this agreement to establish Ukraine as a "legal patrimony" and the Soviets also adopted this convenience to legitimize their integration of the whole area as a Soviet Republic (Magocski 1996, 216). As in the west, the dominant religion of this region is Ukrainian Orthodoxy, but it also includes a major second denomination (Russian Orthodox). The vast majority of the approximately 22% of the country who speak Russian as their native language is located in the east and south east. This is not surprising given that Russia used the eastern part of Ukraine as both a buffer to the Western powers and also an area for agricultural expansion and a warm weather port for the Russian and later Soviet navies (Stepanenko 1999, 121). To insure their control of the region, Czarist Russia sought to "Russify" the people of this region by adopting them as "little brothers" or "little Russians," which led to a policy designed to eliminate any remnants of distinct "Ukrainian" identity and recast it in the image of a "provincial" or "rural" form of Russia. Official policy sought to eliminate any distinct history, language, or other cultural element of Ukraine through legal punishment and to replace it with Russian elements or at a minimum,

with a version that reinforced the image of Ukraine as a rural region of Russia. Along with military conquest, large numbers of Russian settlers displaced or colonized Ukrainian peoples of this region. This control extended over the capital Kyiv but was much stronger farther east in the cities of Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv.

Aside from Russian influence in the former imperial and Soviet naval bases of the southern region, the other major group that gave Ukraine a significant multiethnic identity was the Tartars in the Crimea. Originally of Mongolo-Chinese dissent, the Tartars conducted several invasions from the east and south as part of the Golden Horde in an attempt to expand the Mongolian empire in the 13th century. Ultimately, these invaders settled along the Black Sea and Crimea, and by the 15th century, the Crimean Khanate joined forces with the Turks of the Ottoman Empire in raiding the lands of Ukraine and Eastern Europe to populate the slave trade. Shortly after Crimean annexation by Russia in 1783, the Tartars began a mass emigration to Turkey. Those who remained were later deported by Stalin to resettlement camps in the Central Asian republics (Reid 2000, 179). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a large migration of these people back to southern Ukraine has occurred, such that the Crimean Tartars combined with the ethnic Russians in the region to the point where the Ukrainian constitution includes an autonomous administrative unit for Crimea. Territorially, though, it still remains a part of Ukraine. Along with this administrative separation exist substantive divisions in religion (Moslem and Russian Orthodoxy) and language (Turkish and Russian) as well as others. In fact, given its separateness, many treatments of current Ukraine neglect this region altogether or merely focus on the Russian areas because of their military importance.

That Ukraine is a multiethnic state is not an oddity because multiethnic democracies are fairly numerous in the world. However, what is unique about the Ukrainian experience is that the people seeking to forge such a democracy have almost no history as a nation-state much less as a democracy. Victor Stepanenko cites historian Taras Kuzio as stating, "Ukraine has only enjoyed two brief periods of independence in the modern era, for a few years after the Cossack rebellion of 1648 and under the succession of weak governments in 1917-21" (Stepanenko 1999, 7). Thus, part of the challenge for Ukrainian independence is the very creation of a nation-state itself. Instead of having multiple generations to foster unification in an environment where other nations are coalescing as well, Ukraine seeks to establish a viable nation-state in a competitive environment where other long-lived nation-states have a historical and cultural claim on large portions of the population. Given that the Ukrainian territory is larger than France and has a population of over 50 million, the challenges of unification and forging a national identity are quite daunting.

Ukraine's search for a unifying national identity would be complex enough if the various occupations mentioned above had been benign. However, each colonial power sought to impress its language, culture, and identity on the indigenous peoples of the respective regions. The vast extent of Ukrainian history is that of Polandization, Germanization, Russification, and finally Sovietization. It is the effects of this last period that resonate so strongly throughout Ukrainian society today.

Overcoming the Soviet Past

Although coup attempts began as early as 1918, the Soviets failed to establish political control over Ukraine until 1922 when they formed, through armed insurrection, the first communist government in the eastern city of Kharkiv. What followed was a series of actions duplicated throughout the Soviet expansion of all Central Europe. Through political indoctrination, abolition of private property, collectivization of the means of production, and centralizing political authority in a totalitarian state, the Soviets sought to create an engineered society where whole countries served as resources and dependent vassals to support the central Russian Soviet state. To accomplish their ambitions, the Soviets sought to establish control over every political, economic, and social sector of the state. Due to the "special" relationship the Russian Soviets historically held to Ukraine, Sovietization was particularly pervasive and extreme in Ukraine. One heinous example of the Soviet intentions can be found in Stalin's engineered famine of 1933, when as many as 5 million Ukrainians (15% of the population) were starved to death in one year to force collectivization, while another 10 million people died of starvation during the rest of the 1930s (Magocsi 1996, 559). During the years 1930-31, as many as 1.25 million people were also deported from Ukraine, mostly to the Central Asian Republics (Magocsi 1996, 557-8). No sector of Ukrainian society was left untouched by the Sovietization process, and the key to that control was changing the minds of the populace through the use of propaganda, indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist ideology, and socialization in the practices of communism. Beyond armed coercion, the principle tool used to implement this change was education.

During the Soviet period, educational organizations were used to promote the development of "Soviet citizens." The ideal "citizen" was one who believed and followed Communist Party doctrine and saw himself as a member of the "International Proletariat," which later was changed by Stalin to mean a citizen of the Soviet Union. In terms of identity, this doctrine meant to suppress ethnic and national expressions of self to be replaced with the communist construct of "comrade" in the Soviet Union. Differences in appearance, interests, artistic expression, etc. were considered punishable because of their subversion of communist ideology. The state set criteria

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for all forms of expression including art (socialist realism) and language (Soviet Russian), and educational institutions and policy were designed to implement the official doctrine. The term coined for this was "*Vospitanie,*" which is best translated as "purposeful socialization" (Stepanenko 1999, 59). In Ukraine this was accomplished through establishment of an educational system that was very hierarchical and in control of all aspects of education and that discriminated in favor of Russian schools versus Ukrainian schools. Furthermore, teachers were trained and certified only by State Pedagogical Institutes in the principles of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and students received a course on "Communist Upbringing" that was to teach them how to fulfill the "Moral Code of the Builder of Communism." This "code" included:

> Devotion to the communist cause, love of socialist motherland and of other socialist countries; conscientious labor for the good of society; concern for the preservation and growth of public wealth; a high sense of public duties, intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest; a collectivist attitude; mutual respect between individuals; honesty, truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, unpretentiousness in social and private life; mutual respect in the family and concern for the *upbringing* of children; an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grabbing; friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR, intolerance of national and racial hatred; an uncompromising attitude to the enemies of Communism, peace and the freedom of nations; fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries. (Stepanenko 1999, 61)

It is hardly surprising that classroom management and instruction during this time were practiced in a manner also consistent with the totalitarian state such that it emphasized a passive pupil and a dominant teacher. The pedagogy was "essentially a means towards self-discipline; as well as making for the smooth running of classroom routine, it is intended to be part and parcel of the wider purpose of moral education in shaping the future members of Soviet society" (Stepanenko 1999, 64). Soviets conceptualized this new type of identity, which was supposed to overcome existing "traditional" ethnic and social differentiations in the former USSR such that "The Soviet pride is all-national pride, the Soviet mentality goes far beyond traditional notions 'national' and 'republican'" (Stepanenko 1999, 67). Hypocritically, it was also stressed that the "Russian people played a special role in a creation of fraternal unity among the peoples of the former Tsarist Russia" (Ibid). This socialization took place through the formal and informal/hidden curriculum of the schools as well as the "voluntary" student organizations such as the Young Pioneers and Komsomol.

The presumption of the Soviet system of education was a passive acceptance by students and teachers of the ideology-based 'knowledge'. This strategy seemed more successful in the early years after the revolution

but as life experience in the Soviet system continued to contradict and under-perform ideological goals, young and old alike became disenchanted with communist doctrine and began to treat it for what it was: failed political indoctrination. By the late 1970s, teachers and students seldom took Soviet ideology seriously and typically gave it the least amount of time and only cursory attention. Out of this failure came a great disregard for the Soviet system and the institutions that upheld it, including schools. Schools were recognized as a tool for the oppressors, and high student performance was disdained as collaboration.

Unfortunately, after fifty years of communist control the damage had been done and the knowledge and skills of democracy were foreign to the average Ukrainian. In its place was the failed totalitarian paradigm that stressed centralization of control, unquestioned authority, and collective organization. While the Soviet plan to inculcate "Sovietness" through education failed, it did eliminate the knowledge and skills necessary to replace it with a democratic alternative. This absence gained a new significance with the revolutions of 1989 and Ukrainian independence in 1991.

Education in Ukraine Today

Currently, Ukraine is undergoing a transformation of its educational system to meet current realities and future aspirations. Part of this transformation involves developing the curriculum, instructional materials, and teachers to educate the next generation of Ukrainians in the principles and practices of democracy. This is necessary because "school goals need to mirror broader societal goals; otherwise, school life is conducted not as a laboratory for anything in particular, let alone democratic living, but as an end in itself, and subjects are taught without purpose other than mastery, which is meaningless" (Parker 1996, 184). However, the inertia of the past, particularly the recent Soviet past, hinders this transformation in many ways due to bureaucratic and economic constraints. This is felt particularly in the educational system through the lack of financial resources and the continuance of Soviet-era leaders in positions of authority in a system dominated by a top-down hierarchical organization.

Because of these factors, much of the educational system in Ukraine remains rooted in its recent past. In much of the country, schools are poorly equipped with a large proportion of materials and supplies left over from the Soviet period. The curriculum being taught still retains a significant resemblance to the past, although several major changes have come with the recent addition of a 12th grade and a restructuring to provide some space for school and teacher choice. Lastly, teachers continue to be trained predominately through teacher-training institutions staffed largely by the same faculty from the pre-independence period. These former pedagogical

"institutes" (now termed universities) are also joined by more comprehensive universities with the task of preparing teachers to meet the new and changing demands of Ukrainian education.

It would be both naive and unfair to consider these educational factors in a vacuum from the turmoil and difficulties of everyday Ukrainian life. Although recent political and economic indicators point towards marginal progress and a promising future, daily life in Ukraine is extremely difficult with large portions of the society struggling with the uncertainties of the democratic transition. The overall effect of this turmoil on the education system is dramatic and too large to even catalogue in this work. However, a few factors pose particular difficulties for Ukrainian educators:

- the average monthly salary of a teacher is approximately $45-$50 (official poverty level in Ukraine is set at approximately $100/month), which means many teachers have other part-time jobs to survive;
- approximately 2 million people a year temporarily leave Ukraine to find work in other countries and a large percentage of these are parents (mostly women), which means that many children return home from school to empty flats or to other guardians (Pirozhkov 1996, 70);
- alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, government corruption, and crime have increased dramatically during the past decade and have had a devastating effect on families and society as a whole;
- although Ukrainian language is the official language of instruction and as many as 75% of the citizens claim to speak it as their first language, most believe this figure to be inaccurate. In truth, as much as 50% of the country may be native Russian speakers who must cope with the emergence of a Ukrainian nationalist agenda (Stepanenko 1999, 124).

Considering that Ukraine is struggling not only with these daily demands of transforming their society but also that they labor under a lack of national identity and a history of subjugation, understanding and acceptance of democracy by a majority of the populace may be the only remedy for peaceful resolution of these problems. However, such civic learning can only be possible through the education of the next generation of citizens in the principles and skills of democratic governance, and civic education is a proven route to achieving these goals (Niemi and Junn 1998, 121). Now, as in the past, the current political regime of Ukraine seeks to use schools as agents of change and socialization.

Educational institutions at all levels are expected to play a crucial role in this process by adopting the concepts and active pedagogical methods that promote democracy in their classrooms. Such active pedagogical methods, such as discussion, have been proven in domestic and international research to be crucial for democratic teaching and learning (Niemi and

Junn 1998, 121). Unfortunately, few teachers in Ukraine are well-versed or trained in these areas, and those who are trained have received this information through inservice "re-education" projects that seek to broaden their preconceptions of teaching. One such effort to assist with this transformation is a recently completed project conducted through a partnership between the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University and the Regional Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies (DOBA) in Ukraine.

On November 1, 2000 the Mershon Center was awarded a two-year contract from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs to conduct the project "Education for Democracy in Ukraine." This project was part of the Transatlantic Civil Society Support Program for Ukrainian Civic Education, a joint effort of the European Union and the United States. These activities were planned in accordance with Civitas International and drew upon prior collaboration with the Center for Citizenship Education, Warsaw (CCEW) and the success that they have achieved in promoting civic education in Poland.

At the core of the project were several activities designed to practically address the national identity and Soviet legacy issues in a contextually sensitive manner. This was accomplished through two levels: policy and curriculum. To counter the 'Soviet mindset' of communist centralization, the project focused on working with the Ukrainian Ministry of Education to foster the understanding of and administrative support for civic education. By focusing on the development of the Ukrainian partner DOBA, the project also sought to decentralize educational reform by assisting a non-governmental association of teachers to acquire the capacity to continue and deepen the commitment for democratic education.

The project also addressed the needs of developing a "national identity" by creating materials that help students understand the complexity of their national history and how commitment to democratic principles can be a unifying force to provide Ukraine with a self-determined future. To counter the Soviet educational legacy, the lessons utilize active teaching-learning methodologies to counter the past practice of passive, didactic lecture and to teach skills necessary for democratic citizenship, such as decision making, leadership, and group cooperation and compromise. Participants were then trained to be teacher-trainers to teach the new materials to their colleagues. Overall, Mershon and DOBA have been able to achieve several important accomplishments, which include:

- conducting a U.S. study tour for Ukrainian education policy makers and subsequently negotiating and signing a "Protocol of Intentions" for teacher training and development of civic education in Ukraine. The Ministry is now involved with planning future activities and committed to civic education as evidenced by the development of

new social studies standards for Ukraine that include civic education as part of compulsory education;

- achieving recognition by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, which gave the course books developed by our project, *We Are Citizens of Ukraine*, the status "Recommended by the Ministry of Education";
- developing DOBA into a national association (NOVA DOBA) with 482 members across 22 of the 27 Oblasts of Ukraine with an office-resource center fully equipped with current educational materials, computers, and other office equipment;
- holding two All-Ukrainian competitions on developing civic education lesson plans which resulted in the book titled *20+1 Lessons for Teaching Tolerance* (1000 copies);
- developing the course "We Are Citizens of Ukraine" which included a teacher's manual (850 copies) and a student textbook (13,550 copies) which have been given the status "Recommended by the Ministry of Education";
- production of a *Project Citizen* Manual and CD ROM *Project Citizen* (3000 copies) and held the first Annual National *Project Citizen* competition;
- developing teacher trainers and lesson/curriculum writers in active teaching-learning methods who have conducted a number of workshops, conferences, and round tables for civic education;
- training 1,172 teachers in active methods and the new course, "We are Citizens of Ukraine," with 334 of them committed to teaching the course in the 2001-2003 academic years; and
- a total of 19,249 students who have directly participated in the project and another 35,000 who have been affected by their teachers' participation in the teacher training workshops.

Although our current collaboration has had a dramatic effect in a very short time, the overall development of civic education in Ukraine will progress very slowly if it continues only at the inservice level. Unless a formalized course of study is developed for preservice training of teachers, the educators of Ukraine will need to rely on an inefficient process of re-training teachers in democratic teaching and methods that will continue to retard the progress of future democratization. For this reason, we have begun the process of developing preservice teacher training for civic education in Ukraine.

Planning for Preservice Teacher Education in Civic Education

In the fall of 2002, the standards for a new, integrated social studies curriculum are expected to be implemented. This curriculum will be

composed of world history, Ukrainian history, law and society, and civic education. Clearly, with new standards comes a need for teachers trained in the content and methods for teaching the new curriculum with a strong emphasis on democracy. To prepare new teachers capable of teaching about democracy within this new integrated curriculum requires teacher training courses, materials, faculty, and the administrative support to reform teacher training in Ukraine. To assist with this reform, a consortium of educational organizations in both Ukraine and the United States have proposed to conduct a project that has both short-term and long-term goals.[2] The partners have developed a three-year project that has three explicit long term goals:

1) to create a network of mutually supportive institutions of higher learning focused on promoting democracy through social studies education;
2) to make a significant contribution to the way preservice teachers are prepared for teaching about democracy through the development of two courses for preservice teachers of social studies with an emphasis on civic education;
3) to develop administrative support for the implementation of these courses in all teacher education universities and institutes in Ukraine.

Fulfillment of these long-term goals will make teaching about democracy a priority for education in Ukraine by developing well-prepared teachers who can effectively teach the next generation of citizens the concepts, skills, and values of democracy. In the short-term, and operationally, this project proposes to:

1. conduct a two-week workshop in the United States for six Ukrainian administrators focused on building understanding and support for democratic education reform;
2. conduct two three-week workshops designed to assist twelve university faculty from Ukraine in the preparation of two new preservice teacher education courses in civic education through the social studies;
3. conduct three short-term workshops in Ukraine to acquaint up to 60 other university faculty in the issues, methods, and concepts of education for democracy;
4. develop two readers/textbooks for use in the new pre-service courses, and;
5. establish a consortium of universities in both Ukraine and the U.S. to support the continued development and maximum dissemination of the deliverables of this project.

This project will have multiple and long-lasting benefits for educators and civic education reform in Ukraine. First, and foremost, the project would create conceptually sophisticated, self-contained, practical materials that bring new ideas about democracy and democratic skills and values directly to preservice education programs at Ukrainian universities.

Second, the preservice courses should be a cost-effective way to train teachers with a multiplier effect. By creating preservice courses, this project has the ability to immediately impact the next generation of teachers and potentially hundreds of thousands of future students. In addition, this effort would initially complement and eventually make obsolete the inservice training of teachers that is currently necessary due to the demand for democratic content and pedagogy.

Third, the project would provide a sound basis for developing a consortium of institutions of higher education in both countries. These partnerships would provide the project with the maximum impact in the shortest amount of time by reaching a variety of faculty and their students in the complex education systems of both countries. In addition, the adoption of a consortium model for the project allows each institution to contribute and draw upon the strengths and experiences that they individually represent. None of these institutions could individually contribute nor reap benefits singly as much as they do in partnership with each other. These benefits are gained both within the individual countries, from the support and exchange between institutions of the same countries, and internationally through the transference of experience and information.

Fourth, the project would help insure that new teaching methods and content will be sustained in Ukrainian classrooms. Educational reforms can quickly evaporate unless they are embodied in sophisticated and useable instructional materials for educators. The project would conduct multiple workshops in Ukraine to provide inservice training on democratic concepts and methods for at least 60 other university faculty. This would have the dual impact of training them in these areas as well as creating an initial pool of potential users of the new curriculum once it is prepared.

Implementing the Planned Activities

In dealing with a centralized educational environment such as Ukraine there are few options and a major obstacle for carrying out teacher education reform. Because of the predominance of the pedagogical universities and the authority of the Ministry of Education, any changes to teacher preparation must be conducted in conjunction with their participation if the goal is to make significant impact across such a large country. Unfortunately, it is these very institutions that are often the major obstacles to the process due to factors mentioned earlier. For this reason, the partners in this collaboration have opted to develop a consortium approach to the project that includes these crucial institutions, but also some more progressive ones as well.

Through involving institutions and universities of different types, this project seeks to use the experiences of diverse institutions in both countries

to create maximum impact. By adopting a consortium approach the project also creates a network of institutions to support the continued development and implementation of the courses that are the deliverables of the project. Thus, one of the real strengths of this program is the ability of each organization to contribute its own expertise in a manner from which all the other institutions can profit. Each U.S. institution would benefit not only from their work with the three Ukrainian institutions, but also from their association with the other U.S. institutions. In addition, the Ukrainian universities each get the opportunity to work with and benefit from three different U.S. university partners. This structure should provide much greater impact than a typical single university to university partnership.

The planned project consists of four components that take place over a three-year time span. A different U.S. organization would take the leading role in each year although representatives from each U.S. and Ukrainian institution would participate in all phases of the project.

Year 1. In the spring of the first year, two administrators from each Ukrainian institution would travel to the U.S. for a two-week study tour that would focus on civic education and successful administrative support for democratic educational reform. This tour would be coordinated by The University of Michigan and would be focused on three related goals. The first goal is to familiarize Ukrainian administrators with the role that their counterparts in American universities play in encouraging civic education throughout their institutions. The second goal is to acquaint educators at American universities with the challenges that their Ukrainian colleagues face in democratizing higher education and promoting civic education. The third goal is to give the Ukrainian administrators a thorough understanding of the kinds of courses and course materials for civic education in the social studies that their faculty members would create in collaboration with American colleagues in the workshops that would take place in the following two years.

In early summer of the same year, U.S. project leaders would travel to Ukraine for a follow-up visit and to hold a two day, first annual *Teaching for Democracy Workshop*. This workshop would involve 20 university faculty and assist in the selection of the Ukrainian professor participants for the subsequent activities at Bowling Green State University (BGSU). The workshop would focus on active teaching/learning methods for civic education in the social studies and be conducted by the U.S. project leaders. The dual purpose of this workshop would be to prepare potential team members for their work in the U.S. and to train others in the latest practices in teaching for democracy. The objectives of the *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* would be to:

1. orient team members to project goals and objectives;

2. review and revise a draft outline of the preservice course to be developed;
3. provide initial training for the team on basic principles of democracy and free market economics that would form the conceptual base for the new course;
4. provide an orientation to the active teaching methods important to the course materials;
5. identify special topics to be covered in the three-week workshop at BGSU;
6. identify resource materials to be purchased for use by team members.

After participating in the *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* each of the six Ukrainian team members would draft several sample outlines prior to their departure for the U.S.

Year 2. In early spring of the second project year, project leaders would return to Ukraine for a preparation visit to hold a two-day, second annual *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* for 20 university faculty and to also spend intensive time with the selected Ukrainian faculty participants. The workshop would focus on active teaching/learning methods for civic education and be conducted by the U.S. project leaders. The dual purpose of this workshop would be to prepare team members for their work in the U.S. and to train others in the latest practice in teaching civic education. The objectives of this *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* would be to:

1. orient non-team members to project goals and objectives;
2. provide initial training for non-team members on basic principles of democracy and free market economics that would form the conceptual base for the new course;
3. provide initial training for the team on basic principles of democracy and free market economics that would form the conceptual base for the new course;
4. provide an orientation to the active methods important to the course materials;
5. identify special topics to be covered in the three-week workshop at BGSU;
6. identify resource materials to be purchased for use by team members.

After participating in the *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* each of the six Ukrainian team members would draft several sample outlines prior to their departure for the U.S.

Later that summer, two professors from each Ukrainian institution would travel to the U.S. to participate in a three week workshop that would focus on developing a pre-service teacher education course for integrating civic education into the new social studies curriculum coordinated by Bowling Green State University.

The goal of the BGSU workshop would be to assist in the development of a preservice teacher education course for integrating civic education into existing social studies certification programs within the U.S. and Ukrainian context. Specifically, the participants in this *Integrating Civic Education Workshop* would be exposed to the many ways in which civic education has been conceptualized in the United States and abroad and exposed to democratic education practices that would enable workshop participants to integrate both the content and practice of democracy into a new course in their context. The workshop would focus on the following aspects of citizenship education:

1. *Conceptualizing citizenship education*: Examining the role of the citizen in society, why civic education is important, and how it can be incorporated into the classroom.
2. *Democratic learning environments*: Analyzing the controversy between theory and practice. How do we create democratic learning environments within university preservice courses and programs? How do we model democratic practices (including critical thinking, cooperative learning, conflict resolution, negotiation, and diverse cultural perspectives) for our preservice students?
3. *Developing a preservice teacher education course*: Creating a pre-service teacher education course for integrating civic education into certification programs in Ukraine (e.g., departments of history and philosophy and other disciplines where the teaching of citizenship competencies contribute to improved student success) and the U.S. (social studies).
4. *Educator professionalism*: Linking Ukrainian peers to other organizations and experts focused on preparing preservice citizenship educators.

The workshop participants would receive intensive instruction from specialists in the most current issues and methods for curriculum development in civic education. The purpose of this instruction is to provide the participants with exposure to the latest theory and practice as they prepare for the writing of a civic education preservice course.

Year 3. In the spring of the third project year, project leaders would again travel to Ukraine for a preparation visit and to hold a third *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* with approximately 20 university faculty and the selected Ukrainian professor participants. The two-day workshop would focus on active teaching/learning methods for civic education and be conducted by the U.S. project leaders and the Ukrainian participants from the BGSU workshop. The dual purpose of this workshop would be to prepare team members for their work in the U.S. and to train others in the latest practice in teaching civic education. The third *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* would be similar to prior years but adapted as new needs are determined. In particular, this workshop would include the prior year's

Ukrainian participants as presenters to demonstrate the applicability of the subject matter and to report upon their efforts. In general, the objectives of the *Teaching for Democracy Workshop* would be to:

1. orient non-team members to project goals and disseminate products from the BGSU workshop;
2. provide initial training for non-team members on basic principles of democracy and free market economics that would form the conceptual base for the new course;
3. provide non-team members an orientation to active teaching methods for the course;
4. solicit feedback from non-team members on important issues for course development;
5. work with Ukrainian team members to revise a draft outline of the pre-service course;
6. identify special topics to be covered in the three-week workshop at The Ohio State University; and
7. identify resource materials to be purchased for use by team members.

After participating in the *Teaching for Democracy Workshop*, each of the six Ukrainian team members would submit draft outlines prior to their departure for the U.S. In the following summer, two professors from each Ukrainian institution would travel to the U.S. to participate in a three-week workshop that would focus on developing a pre-service teacher education course for developing a special certificate program in civic education to be coordinated by The Ohio State University (OSU).

The goal of the workshop at OSU is to develop a preservice teacher education course for a civic education certification program within the Ukrainian context. Specifically, the participants in the *Civic Education Certificate Program Workshop* would be exposed to the many ways in which citizenship education has been conceptualized in the United States and abroad and exposed to democratic education content and practices that would enable workshop participants to design a course for graduating teachers with a special certificate in civic education. In many ways, this workshop would be similar to the one conducted the previous year at BGSU, as much of the same content and methods that are necessary for democratic education are applicable and necessary to each type of course design. Where this workshop would differ is in the focus of establishing an independent certification for civic education teachers which would require more in-depth understanding of the topic and a deeper consideration of the scope and sequence of other courses that would be necessary for its implementation.

The workshop would focus on the following aspects of civic education:

1. *Conceptualizing Civic Education*: Examining the role of the citizen in society; why civic education is important; how it can be incorporated

into the social studies classroom and how it relates to other subject matter often used in its place.

2. *Democratic learning environments*: Focusing on the rationale and practice of democratic learning environments within university pre-service courses and programs. How can we model democratic practices (including critical thinking, cooperative learning, conflict resolution, negotiation, and diverse cultural perspectives) for our preservice students? How do we overcome institutional constraints on teaching?
3. *Developing a preservice teacher education course*: Creating a pre-service teacher education course for providing a special civic education focus in certification programs in Ukraine. What other courses would be necessary companions to the course designed in this workshop? How can we make them fit into a cohesive whole?
4. *Educator professionalism*: Linking Ukrainian peers to other organizations and experts focused on preparing pre-service civic educators.

Conclusions

Writing in 1916, John Dewey anticipated the efforts of many civic educators worldwide who seek to promote democratic societies through formal education,

> Since education is a social process, and there are many kinds of societies, a criterion for education criticism and construction implies a particular social ideal. . . A society that makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder. (Dewey 1916, 99)

Unfortunately, Ukraine has also experienced the negative examples of this process from its former colonial and communist governments in their attempts at social engineering.

As the new generation of Ukrainians seek to reform their educational system and society, Dewey's words have particular salience. In fact, they are a clear message to politicians, educators, and citizens of democracies around the world that their schools and teachers necessarily must reflect and reinforce the values and priorities of a free civil society. Though they were written in a time when the 20th century was young, they still hold today as the 21st century begins.

As more nations make the transition to democracy and others seek to continue their democratic traditions, the content and practice of education still remains a primary vehicle for sustaining these social transformations.

For these reasons, developing preservice teacher education in civic education should be viewed as a fundamental step in the process of democratic transformation and consolidation.

Notes

1. See Magocsi, Paul Robert. *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996, for an extensive English-language treatment of the history of Ukraine.

2. My thanks to my colleagues John Fischer and Patricia Kubow (Bowling Green University), Tatyana Ladychenko (Drahomanova National Pedagogical University), Natalia Lominska (National University of Ostroh National Academy), Jeffrey Mirel (The University of Michigan), Inna Samoilyukevych (Zhytomyr Pedagogical University) and Polyna Verbytska (Center for Civic Education NOVA DOBA) for their assistance in conceptualizing this project.

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9

Civic Learning in Teacher Education: An Example of Collaboration by Russians and Americans[1]

Charles S. White

In the fall of 2000, American and Russian teacher educators formed a partnership to design and implement a university-based teacher preparation program in education for democracy. The goal of the partnership has been to develop a preservice teacher education program of courses and textbooks in civic education and to prepare the first cohort of 150 preservice teachers to teach the knowledge, skills, and dispositions required of citizens in a democratic society. Thanks to a three-year grant from the United States Department of State, educators from Russell Sage College (Troy, NY), Boston University (Massachusetts), and teacher preparation institutions in Samara, Russia, have embarked on a University Reform Initiative (URI) that will lead, we expect, to formal teacher certification in civic education as an independently recognized discipline for licensure in the Russian Federation.

The URI partnership's genesis, its goals, and its initial steps were described in a paper delivered at a May 2001 conference hosted by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University and sponsored by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California. The paper was subsequently published as a chapter in a book published by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (Schechter and White 2001).

What follows may be best understood as a progress report on the URI partnership, which was barely nine months old when introduced at the May 2001 conference. The current paper will draw the chronology of project activities forward to the present, describing the fruits of efforts that, a year ago, were characterized more by goals than by outcomes. What is presented also is a snapshot of a work in progress, with goals still to be attained over the next 15 months (and beyond).

To place the current information in context, I will sketch only briefly the broad contours of the project at its beginning and then move quickly to a sharper focus on two topics: the curriculum of the teacher preparation program and the early implementation of the curriculum at partnership institutions. In the course of examining these topics, I seek to provide some glimpses of the underlying dynamics of universities, students, and the teaching profession in Russia that were largely absent from the 2001 paper. As is perhaps true for any culture, understanding Russia is like peeling an onion—each layer reveals something new and subtle. So the perspectives I share must be tentative and preliminary as we continue to learn about the environment within which education for democracy in teacher preparation is evolving in Russia.

The Project

The URI project grew out of the Civitas@Russia partnership that was formed in 1995 as part of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange program that is administered by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California, with funds from the U.S. Department of Education. On the American side were Russell Sage College in Troy, New York, Boston University's School of Education, and the American Federation of Teachers in Washington, DC. The Philadelphia Public Schools joined us in 2001. Our Russian partners included the Russian Association for Civic Education, *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (Teachers' Newspaper), and Yakov Sokolov's Moscow-based Grazhdanin Center. Within a short time, two additional partners joined us, a newly established Center for Civic Education at the Samara Teacher Training Institute and the St. Petersburg Law School.

During the first four years of the Civitas@Russia partnership, our attention was focused mainly on inservice teacher training and the development of teaching materials (both for teacher professional development and for classroom students). In November of 1997, however, the regional minister of education in Samara,[2] Efim Kogan, hosted a conference that identified one of the next challenges we needed to tackle: teacher preparation in the universities. The message we got at the conference was heeded because of the potential for widespread impact; Minister Kogan was and is an influential member of the Greater Volga Association of Education Ministers. We and our Russian colleagues also recognized that for change in civic education to be institutionalized, the system of teacher preparation would need to be brought into the mix. After two unsuccessful attempts in 1998 and 1999 to obtain funding, our proposal for a three-year university reform initiative in teacher preparation was approved in 2000 by the U.S. State Department, in partnership with the Center for Civic Education. Our Russian partners included Samara State University, Samara Pedagogical University, and

Samara Pedagogical College, with the coordination of Samara Teacher Training Institute's Center for Civic Education. Work on the URI project began in August of 2000.

First Year: The Curriculum

The first task of the URI project was to craft a scope and sequence for the teacher preparation program, considering (1) the civics content in the schools, (2) the already-required university coursework, and (3) the extra hours of instruction one could demand of university students in the program. Much of the first year of the project (2000-2001) was devoted to this task. Our target was a maximum of 1,000 hours of coursework and practicum at the state and pedagogical universities, and 250 hours at the pedagogical college. The latter prepares teachers for primary school only (grades one through four). The distribution of hours by content, methods, and practicum is presented in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1
Distribution of Hours by Institution

	Content	Methods	Practicum
State University	**560 hours**	**200 hours**	**240 hours**
Pedagogical University	**560 hours**	**200 hours**	**240 hours**
Pedagogical College	**120 hours**	**50 hours**	**80 hours**

Guiding the selection of topics for content was the "Self-Determination" school curriculum that was instituted in 1994 in the Samara region.[3] Using this as the starting point, we extended and deepened the content as a result of lengthy meetings and discussions in Samara and in the United States. Topics for the methods dimension of the curriculum were drawn from our experience of the previous five years of in-service teacher training, including the mobile teacher seminars that have become staples in the Civitas@Russia repertoire and texts like *The Active Classroom* on which the partners collaborated. By the end of the first year, we had a scope and sequence that covered a broad range of methods and content topics.

The Methods Curriculum. In addition to ensuring that new teachers know the content of the region's "Self-Determination" curriculum, the methods scope includes active and interactive methods of teaching and the relative benefits of traditional and active methods, with the goal of helping students determine when it is appropriate to use particular methods. Teachers-in-training will be taught how to manage cooperative learning

lessons, simulations, and role playing. As one might expect, the methods curriculum contains instruction on the design of course syllabi and lesson plans, and on the use of teaching manuals, methods textbooks, and tests. Techniques for organizing and running discussions are also part of the methods curriculum, as well as skills in critically analyzing mass media and primary documents and in making reasoned decisions. Document analysis will be aided by a collection of primary resources to be published in the form of a companion course text.

One of the distinctive features of the methods curriculum is its attention to extracurricular activities in civic education, a matter discussed below in connection with the content curriculum. There is an expectation that teachers will make conscious links between the classroom and extracurricular activities. The Russian variant of *Project Citizen*[4] (*I Am a Citizen of Russia*) is one such extracurricular activity, approved in December of 2000 by the Federal Ministry of Education for use in schools throughout the Russian Federation.

What is also distinctive about the methods curriculum (with support from the content curriculum) is its emphasis on engaging students in social projects, of which *Project Citizen* is the centerpiece. Minister Kogan is a strong advocate of competency-based learning, and he wants to see evidence that students can demonstrate knowledge and skills by applying them. He and other Russian educators believe that activities like *Project Citizen* provide the clearest path to competency in civic education. One of our Russian colleagues observed that participation in social projects equips students with the tools they need to adapt to and be effective in a society in flux, where new values, new laws, new administrative systems, and nearly constant experimentation are the norm.[5]

The Content Curriculum. Noted earlier was the influence of Samara's pre-college "Self-Determination" curriculum on the selection of content for our preservice teacher education project. This is the locus of the civics curriculum in the region's schools, and future teachers should be well versed in its content, though at a deeper level of understanding. The topics in our preservice curriculum are enumerated in the Appendix, accompanied by a brief description of each. The reader will note that the topics listed therein span a broader range of content than is typical for American civics and government curricula. One can find the reasons for this both in the path that education reform has taken in Russia since the mid-1980s and in the perceived needs that the civics curriculum must meet in post-Soviet Russia.

Civics, social studies, and new priorities. Seventy years of Soviet schooling gave priority to an allegiance to Marxist ideology over the development of the individual, to memorization of encyclopedic knowledge over practical understanding, and to a command of the sciences over the humanities. In

the *perestroika* years that preceded the collapse of the Soviet Union (1986-1991), it became apparent that the schools and the curriculum were no longer serving the needs of society. A discredited Marxist ideology and the weight of an overloaded curriculum, out of touch with accelerating social change, were creating an increasingly disaffected and alienated student population. During the upheaval in Russian education that followed the 1988 special Party Plenum on "Restructuring of the Secondary and High Schools," few curriculum areas were left untouched by reform, including social studies.

In 1990, the Federal Ministry of Education scrapped the existing social studies courses in the comprehensive high schools (grades 9-11): one on family life and the other on the Soviet state and law. In their place came "Man and Society," a three-year course of study in grades 9 through 11. The course was designed to promote "the humanization of education and upbringing, strengthening the formation of democratic qualities in the citizens, and their ability to live within the parameters of a 'law-governed state'" (Prokhorov 1989, 7-8). The new curriculum would be linked to (but not replace) the history curriculum and would integrate the humanities and social sciences (including philosophy, sociology, psychology, ethics, law, and political science) to present a broad view of social life (Vaillant 1994, 156). Curriculum explicitly designed to promote civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions would develop within this broader curricular context.[6]

Civics and preparation for new roles. Consistent with the new thinking at the ministry, the school curriculum generally was to be more child-centered and would focus greater attention on the individual and his/her personal and social development. One can see this reflected in several topics listed in the Appendix, particularly in "The Person in a Society," "Person and Culture," and "Family." Moreover, the curriculum addresses the issue of preparing children and youth for economic, social, and civic roles that are both different from Soviet times and not yet fully realized.[7] This is particularly evident within the content topics of "Authority and Politics," "Law and the State," "Human Rights," and "Economics and the Development of Society."

Civics and vospitanie (upbringing). In Soviet times, much of what we would call moral or character education (*vospitanie* or "upbringing" in Russian) was the province of the extracurriculum, most notably embodied in the Pioneer movement. The curriculum reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s drew upbringing more directly into the domain and responsibility of the formal school curriculum,[8] and one can recognize the moral education themes within numerous topics in our civics curriculum. Some of these relate to significant social problems in contemporary Russia, including the stability of family life and the serious ecological problems in the country.

Others relate to preserving and transmitting traditional Russian culture and heritage and to the importance of patriotism.[9] One also finds a strong emphasis on the citizen's responsibility to participate actively in the community and to help solve significant social problems through democratic means.

What began as a scope and sequence has evolved into a draft outline for the first of three books that will support instruction in the teacher preparation program. The first book will focus on the content of civic education. A second book on methods of civic education will follow, addressing topics in the methods curriculum described earlier. A companion book of primary documents will support teaching and learning activities associated with the content and methods texts. All of these texts will benefit from our experience of piloting the content and methods curriculum with a first cohort of preservice teachers.

Second Year: Teaching and Writing

Refinement of the scope and sequence extended into the second year (2001-2002), with the assistance of both Russian and American reviewers. Particularly helpful was the input provided by the Center for Civic Education during an intensive January 2002 meeting in Calabasas. The fruits of those reviews have already found their way into the draft chapters of the content book that have been a focus of effort as the project entered its second year.

Teaching and writing in the civics content domain has consumed much of Year 2. Because of the university schedules and other factors, some of the teaching of methods commenced in the spring of 2001 (Year 1), but it was the strong belief of our Russian colleagues that the bulk of the content topics ought to be presented before addressing teaching methods.

During the second year, the URI project called for one American professor to be in residence in Russia for a semester, and it was my pleasure to spend the fall 2001 semester working with my Russian colleagues and their students in Samara. My role was to consult with the professor/authors on the refinement of teaching and writing of the content material, to observe and debrief lectures and seminars at the cooperating institutions, and to conduct classes on methods of civic education for the students who volunteered to participate in the project at the three Samara teacher preparation institutions. What follows are some observations about the teachers and their institutions and about the students who decided to join us in our experiment.

The Teachers and Their Institutions. The Russian professors in the URI project are drawn from various institutions and bring a range of experience and expertise in content and methods instruction. One of our partners is Samara State University (SSU), the "classical" university in the region.

Approximately ten percent of SSU students enter the teaching profession, either in secondary schools (grades 5-11) or at the university level. SSU project faculty includes Alexis Gladov, Sergei Simatov, Yuri Smirnov, and Galina Shezstneva. Gladov, a native of Kazakhstan, is a professor of sociology at SSU and also a senior research advisor for the Center for Civic Education at the Samara Teacher Training Institute (STTI) for in-service teachers. Among his specialities is education in a multiethnic state. Simatov is professor of political history, with a special interest in mass media. The dean of the SSU history department, Professor Smirnov lectures on culture and national/international symbols. Finally, Galina Shezstneva is a professor of teaching methods in the SSU history department. As is true for teacher preparation of secondary (and university) education generally, the teaching of methods occurs within the content departments.

Samara Pedagogical University (SPU) provides a second route to a university degree, but is somewhat less selective than the state university, where there are 12 applicants for each available opening. Perhaps half of SPU's graduates will teach in schools, mostly at the secondary level within the Samara region. Yuri Stoichovich is SPU's premier professor of history and civic education methods. His colleague, Sergei Semenov, is a professor of history and a specialist in Russian government.

The Samara Teacher Training Institute (STTI), the leader in civic education in the region, is contributing its faculty resources to the project as well. Vladimir Pakhomov is STTI's vice rector, chair of the history and civic education department, and director of the Samara Center for Civic Education. His teaching provides the overall framework of civic education within which the content and methods will interact. Sergei Losev is a specialist in history and law at STTI, as well as the primary English speaker among our Russian colleagues. STTI's rector, Igor Noskov, provides expertise on the topic of the Russian state, as well as politics and authority. Finally, Alexander Ivanov, whose expertise includes politology, sociology, and philosophy, lectured on the topic of "Person and Society" and is writing a similarly titled chapter for the content textbook.

The Samara Pedagogical College (SPC) does not have faculty directly involved in the project, although it does involve a small group of students. The SPC prepares future primary teachers whose students will be in grades one through four. The college also serves as the location for the URI civic education resource center, which contains both print materials and computer resources that support the project. One of its part-time instructors plays a key role in the project. Galina Suraeva is a social services psychologist who teaches child development and psychology at SPC. She was the coauthor of the "Self-Determination" textbooks for primary grades. Suraeva provides instruction on development and psychology and its role in civic education.

Characteristics of class sessions. I had the pleasure of observing lectures and seminars presented by project faculty. The typical weekly pattern of instruction was two lectures and a seminar (each 80 minutes long with intervening 10 minute breaks) at each institution, with project faculty rotating through the assigned time slot. Participating students at SSU, for example, met on Wednesdays from 8:30 am to 12:50 pm. One of the project faculty would arrive to lecture on his/her topic and would continue to do so on successive weeks until the prescribed number of hours had been completed. Then another professor would meet with students the following week. Class sessions at SPU were held on Thursdays beginning at 8:00 a.m., while the less frequent sessions at SPC met on Saturdays.

For the most part, lectures on this new content of civic education looked much like lectures have always looked, both in Russia and in the United States. Professors talk, students listen and take notes. Notetaking was generally done with great care and diligence. This is the case in other classes as well, since access to textbooks is limited and teacher-administered examinations are based almost exclusively on the lectures. Interaction between students and lecturer have been traditionally reserved for the seminar sessions, where students take the lead and make assigned presentations. This is in stark contrast to my classes in the United States, where there is a mix of teacher and student talk and a higher level of interaction.

There were notable exceptions to the standard of talking lecturer and silent students, but these yielded mixed results. A number of class sessions represented good models of the kind of teaching methods we hope to promote, with greater interaction between teacher and student and among the students themselves. There were many sessions, however, in which teacher questions were attempted but required little student thought, fostering more recitation than reflection and discussion. Classes where students were formed into groups to discuss issues sometimes generated intellectual light, but most often only produced heat. In short, class sessions sometimes took the appearance of interaction, reflection, and reasoned discussion, but not the substance.

The power of tradition. What might explain the difficulty of modeling interactive methods of instruction by university faculty? Let me pose several. First, the traditional lecture/recitation style is comfortable for the professor (and also for the student). This has been the mode of teaching and learning for generations. Vaillant (1994, 161) commented on this matter in connection with Russian education reform and teacher inservice programs of the early 1990s:

> Most of the in-service education programs [precollege teachers] attend are taught by [university] faculties who themselves do not know how to lead discussions or listen to their students. How are the pedagogical universities and institutes to staff the new

departments of social science or humanitarian education that they have been directed to establish, much less find faculty who know how to create a democratic, participatory classroom?

Second, we know from the educational change literature that when new teaching methods are attempted the implementation is at first rather mechanical, without deep understanding and without meaningful follow-through (Hall, Loucks, Rutherford, and Newlove 1975; see also Hall and Hord 2001).

But there is more, I think, in the tradition of Russian education that makes durable and systemic change difficult. James Billington hints at the power of tradition in education in his book, *The Icon and the Axe* (1970). Billington argues that the essence of Russian culture can be captured by the history and tradition surrounding these two objects. In the Russian Orthodox Church, an icon is an object of veneration, not for the theological ideas represented by the icon but as an image that points the way to God. An icon, or *obraz* ("form") in Russian, would hang in every home from the 13th-14th century forward. Quoting Billington, "not only were the saints said to be 'very like' the holy forms on the icons, but the very word for education suggested 'becoming like the forms' (*obrazovanie*)" (p. 39). So becoming like the prescribed form—"conforming" to a prescribed and authoritative image or vision—has a powerful influence on Russian culture and institutions. And, in this instance, the very nature of traditional delivery of instruction—namely, lecture by an authority figure—is perfectly consistent with a statist political culture like Russia's.

The power of tradition to mold civic education to the Russian culture was also evident in the details of lectures based on topics in the scope and sequence. For example, the project students at the State University are all women. During the lecture on family law, the professor made note of a new law granting the right to medical testing in advance of marriage. "All of you should take advantage of that new law and demand that your future husbands get tested," he advised. A serious concern for the state of the traditional Russian family and for the welfare of Russian women (as well as health problems among young Russian men) combine in this statement to help preserve traditions and to address pressing social problems in the country. This mirrors what was mentioned earlier about *vospitanie* and social problems as two of the criteria for content selection in the precollege curriculum and in the preservice teacher education scope and sequence.

As interesting as it was to observe university professors grappling with content and its delivery in project classes, observing and interacting with project students was also very illuminating with respect to the content, methods, and future implementation of civic education in the Samara region and beyond.

The Students. During my four months in Samara, I had the chance to teach at the three partner teacher education institutions, with the assistance of very able interpreters. As a result of that experience, I was able to gather some impressions about these students who volunteered for the project.

Students of Samara State University (SSU). All of the forty students from SSU were young women. As with most of the participating students, they recognized the benefit of acquiring a certificate to teach civics, since this would allow them to teach more hours in secondary school. Russian teachers are paid by the hour and are often unable to arrange enough hours in one subject area or one school to earn a living. But the prospect of more teaching hours in the future was not the primary motivation for their participation, since fewer than half of these students will actually teach in schools. This has always been the case; state universities traditionally have been a relatively small source of classroom teachers. Today, most students will avoid teaching if at all possible, because of poor pay, difficult working conditions, and low social status. One incentive for participation was that the coursework would be ungraded and would not affect their overall university performance. But the topics and methods themselves drew these students to the project. According to several students with whom I spoke, many of whom did not plan to teach after finishing their diploma, the knowledge and skills would be useful in other professional realms (in law, local government administration, and business) and would help them adapt to changing social conditions.

All of the students were history majors—indeed, the project resides in the history departments of SSU and SPU. State university students are required to take some small amount of coursework in pedagogy, but much less than at the pedagogical university. But this methods course is weighted heavily with content in the history and philosophy of education and relatively little on classroom practice. During my teaching semester, these fourth-year[10] SSU students had not yet taken a methods course and so the content of my sessions was quite new (assessment and decision making/moral development). This may explain, in part, their reluctance to participate actively in class. Beyond this, of course, is the fact that the typical student behavior in a lecture is passive; they were not used to being asked questions during a lecture, especially questions that demanded more than recitation of what they had received from previous lectures.

Students of Samara Pedagogical College (SPC). Pedagogical "colleges" in Russia are essentially specialized secondary schools established to prepare kindergarten and primary level teachers. These are not higher-education institutions and so study does not result in an undergraduate degree (diploma). Students enter SPC after the ninth grade and complete their studies in three years. The 35 students at SPC who participate in the program are, on average, about 16 years old. Virtually all of these students will teach,

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many returning to the region's rural villages from which they came. The students at the pedagogical college—again all young women—were quite shy and reluctant to speak in class. They were comfortable with the lecture/recitation mode and lacked the maturity of students in the other institutions. The classroom environment, nature of interactions, and the paternalistic attitude of SPC staff reminded me very much of a traditional American high school of an earlier time.

As explained by my interpreter (a state university graduate), students at pedagogical colleges are on the bottom of the status ladder; a history professor at the SPU also testified to the students' lack of interest in the content of the history classes he would occasionally teach at SPC. My strong impression is that pedagogical colleges generally are not well regarded by "serious" teacher educators and, by extension, that "serious" content in schools must be reserved for secondary education, which begins in grade five. Perhaps Russian (and American) educational leaders should reflect more deeply on the importance of primary education, given the crucial role teachers play in the personal, intellectual, and social development of young children—and young citizens.

Students of the Pedagogical University. Pedagogical universities have traditionally produced the majority of teachers for Russian secondary schools—nine times as many as the state universities (Webber and Webber 1994)—although now barely half of SPU graduates will enter teaching, according to university officials. As with state universities, the pedagogical universities require five years to complete an undergraduate degree. The curriculum of the pedagogical university is overloaded, only slightly reduced from the 36 hours per week for 31 weeks that was typical 10 years earlier (Webber and Webber 1994). The students I met at SPU were in lectures or seminars from 28 to 30 hours per week and spent another 1 to 4 hours per day on work outside of class. Students are required to spend at least one summer teaching at a summer camp, and they take on additional placements in schools, ranging from two to six weeks each.

SPU students were a mix of young men and women and were much more willing to engage actively in the kind of lectures and seminars I was leading. They had taken more pedagogy courses in comparison to the other students described above,[11] so they were able to make the leap to the topics I was teaching. By far the liveliest group of students in the project, they relished class discussions and were willing to try new methods. In fact, one of the young men decided to try one of the methods I had modeled in class in his 11th grade school placement—not a requirement of the course but an admirable demonstration of initiative and enthusiasm.

"Enthusiasm" is a good description of discussions in the SPU classes; "passion" might be even more accurate. I came to believe that whether in

a secondary school or at a university, the use of discussion was considered to be the most distinctive change in the classroom environment and an activity most associated with civic education. This is not to say that all of the episodes of student intercommunication were models of careful and reasoned discussion. Indeed, they most often took the "form" of discussion without the substance. Discussions were enjoyable, which is one reason why most of the Russian inservice teachers with whom we work have embraced discussion and other active methods—because these methods tend to draw disaffected and disengaged students back into the learning process at school. But at this point, many teachers and students, from primary grades through the university years, have yet to move from the surface "forms" to deeper cognitive engagement and understanding.

Third Year: Practicum, Publish, and Propagate

After I returned to the United States in December 2001, work continued both in Samara and in the U.S. to refine plans for the three texts and to teach the pedagogy material from the scope and sequence. In the final year of the project, the students will move to their practica and the partners will consider how to refine our efforts and share our work beyond the Samara region.

Practicum. In Year 3 students will be placed in practica with experienced civics teachers who had received training from the Samara Teacher Training Institute. STTI was one of the first centers in Russia to implement a carefully designed teacher-training program in education for democracy, and we have a cadre of civics teachers who can serve as effective mentors and exemplars. This is a luxury not always enjoyed by teacher preparation programs. Part of that practicum experience will involve our novice teachers in social projects—*Project Citizen* in particular (see earlier reference). Pairings with well-trained and experienced civics teachers will help ensure a smooth transition from the university to the real world of schools.

Publish. In the spring of 2003, we will publish the three texts for use in university preservice civic education courses: the content book, the methods book, and the book of primary documents to be used in conjunction with the other two. By the time of publication, each will have benefitted from piloting by professors/authors in Year 2 and internal and external reviews obtained during the first two years of the project. We will also publish articles that summarize student and professor evaluations of course presentations and materials.

Propagate. Part of the original plan for the URI project was to use our experience in Samara as a stepping-stone to other regions, beginning first with other regions of the Greater Volga. We have already received inquiries from other regions in the Russian Federation that are interested in implementing

some variant of the URI curriculum. It appears that we have crafted a program that is extensive enough to avoid superficiality and to foster mastery, but not so lengthy that it could not be realistically implemented in universities elsewhere.

Conclusion

I have endeavored to provide an update on the University Reform Initiative project in Samara and to describe efforts over the past year to design and implement a preservice teacher education program for civic education. Our work over nearly two years has caused us to reflect often about what we are attempting to accomplish, with what resources, against what obstacles, and with the benefit of what opportunities.

We are attempting to implement changes in teacher education at a time when the Russian education system is operating under difficult circumstances—an aging workforce, shrinking resources, and a dramatic downturn in the preparation of new teachers. Our attempt to institute one small change in teacher preparation will inevitably be influenced by, and may even influence, these conditions and broader reform of Russian education.

Moreover, it is clear that we must help university faculty, preservice teachers, and school children to move beyond becoming "like the forms" of democratic citizenship to becoming democratic citizens. This task is not unique to Russian education, but perhaps it is more challenging given the force of tradition and culture. But I observed what I think is an important crack in tradition when a student at the pedagogical university challenged a lecturer with the question, "What does this lecture on human nature have to do with civics?" The student was not content simply to conform to a curriculum prescribed by some authority. This was a valid question, because the lecturer had not made the connection. The lesson here, I believe, is that we need to promote a deep understanding of the underlying rationales for the content, skills, and dispositions of civic education we teach—not only among preservice teachers but also among university faculty and school children.

Finally, we have a promising opportunity to sustain preservice teachers' learning of content and (especially) methods by placing students with experienced civics teachers. But as is true in the United States, we will need to support novice teachers during their first years of practice. By what means can we foster continued growth of knowledge and expertise in civic education during that most critical phase of a teacher's professional life?

After spending the last several years in projects to improve students' civic learning in emerging democracies, we are well advised to learn from the past about the need to focus more attention on teacher education. Webber and Webber (1994) provide a useful reminder in the Russian context:

> An example of unsuccessful [teacher education] reform . . . can be taken from Russia's own past, during the period immediately following the October [1917] Revolution. The education authorities (Narkompros) under Anatolii V. Lunarcharskii vigorously advocated the introduction of the unified labor school, which was to be founded on the principles of humanistic, child-centered education, breaking the authoritarian, content-based traditions of the tsarist school system. Although such plans received enthusiastic recognition from radical educators around the world, not enough attention was given to the task of preparing teachers to carry out the reforms. Some of the teachers who were left from tsarist times would have opposed the reforms through political conscience or through inertia—the teaching profession worldwide, after all, has a reputation of conservatism. Others, however, were willing to adapt and implement reform—but their needs for retraining were on the whole ignored, leaving them confused by the demands being made on them to "humanize" the school, confusion which very easily led to disillusionment and a decision to carry on as before. Those young teachers who went through training after the Revolution were left to reform the school largely by enthusiasm alone; there was a lack of educators sufficiently qualified and able to train teachers in the ways of the "new school." Although the school experiment was finally laid to rest by the advent of Stalin and the return of the pre-Revolutionary pattern of rigid subject-oriented school life, its fate [had] already been sealed long before through Narkompros's failure to address teacher education reform. (Webber and Webber 1994, 232-233)

Echoing past efforts, the current round of education reform in Russia, dating from the perestroika years, calls for the humanization and democratization of the schools. We view civic education as an important part of such reform. If the past is any guide to the future, advocates of durable and sustainable education for democracy dare not ignore the need for change in teacher preparation. Otherwise, the seeds we have planted through inservice training, curriculum reform, and materials development will whither in the nation's classrooms.

Appendix
Topics in the Curriculum for Inservice Teacher Education

Civic Education in the Structure of Modern Schools	Role of history in forming civic consciousness; ideological approach to history in Soviet times; changes in education on national history since 1991; concepts, principles, issues, and values of civic education; school democratization. The Self-Determination curriculum; problems of disciplinary integration; the scope and sequence of the Self-Determination curriculum.
Civic Education: International Experience	Reasons for civic education in European, American, Canadian, and other schools; educational policy regarding civic education and problems of strengthening civic society; international cooperation; international standards for civic education.
The Person in a Society	Nature of society, role of the individual in society, spheres of society (economic, social, political, spiritual); major institutions; development of society; socialization and education; behavior, self-determination of the person; freedom and responsibility of the person; the spiritual world of the person; values. Social structure, public association, competition of interests. Role of morals of person and society. Public opinion. Duty and conscience. Concept of honor and its protection.
Person and Culture	A variety of the approaches to the concept of culture. Culture as a universal means of transferring human experience. Culture as a set of material and spiritual values of mankind. Sources of culture development and enrichment: traditions, cultural borrowing, achievements of contemporaries. Preservation of cultural legacy. Cultural institutions. Great World, Russian and Regional monuments and famous people. The ways and means of learning about cultural heritage.
Authority and Politics	Origins and types of authority; Aristotle's classification of political regimes; contemporary regimes. Political system. Civil society, voluntary associations. Pluralism. Political culture, its functions; types of political culture; political knowledge, activity. Democratization. Development of democratic institutions in Russia, problems and achievements.
Multiethnic State*	Characteristics of a nation. Nations and ethnic groups. Nations and international relations. Uniqueness of national character; customs, traditions, morals, manner of peoples. Understanding and tolerance. Equality and self-determination of different nations. Multiethnic states and the Russian experience. The concept of sovereignty; levels of sovereignty. Supremacy of federal law.
The Law and the State	Concept of law; role of law in the life of the person and the society. Sources of law. Laws in democratic and authoritarian society. Branches of law. Criminal, civic, labor, and family law

*Often referred to as "multinational" state. The terms "nation" and "national" in Russian parlance refer to the several large, ethnically and culturally distinct minorities within the Russian Federation who constitute majority status in certain regions of the country.

Human Rights	The concept of human rights. Philosophical bases of human rights. International sources of human rights. Confirmation of human rights in Russian legislation. Principal human rights and freedoms (personal, political, economic, social, cultural). The constitution of Russian Federation about the human and civic rights and freedoms. Public and private life of a citizen. The importance of human rights for development of a society. Human rights violation. Human rights protection movement. International mechanisms for protection of human rights. Human rights movements.
Violation of Law-Legal Responsibility	Respect towards the law as a basis of legal consciousness. Moral and legal responsibility. Sense of responsibility for one's acts and behavior. Types of legal responsibility. Disciplined responsibility. Civic and juridical responsibility. Administrative responsibility. Criminal punishment. Peculiarities of punishment of juvenile delinquents.
The State and Its Functions	The definition of the State. The principal functions of the State. Attributes of the state: territory, population, sovereignty, government. The state apparatus. Juridical state. Distribution of powers: legislative, executive and judicial branches. Characteristics of democratic government. The people as the bearers of the sovereignty and as a source of state authority. The forms of direct expression of authority of the people: referendum and elections. Elections in Russia, principles of democratic elections.
State Structure of the Russian Federation	The definition of constitution. Characteristics of Russian constitutionalism. The Constitution of Russian Federation 1993: structure and basic principles. The Presidency of Russian Federation. Federal Assembly. Electoral system of Russian Federation. The principles of democratic elections. Political pluralism. Functions and powers of Council of Federation and State Duma. Legislative process. Constitutional amendments and adjustments in Russian Federation. Government of Russian Federation: formation, functions, powers, responsibilities. The structure of the executive bodies in Russian Federation. Judicial branch and judicial system organization. Law-enforcement bodies.
The Federal System of the Russian Federation	The concept of federation. National, territorial, national-territorial model of federation. Characteristics of the federal system of the Russian Federation. Distribution of powers between federal and regional governments. Sphere of authority of the members of federation. Federal districts, the status and powers of the representatives of the president in federal districts.
Local government in the Russian Federation	Concept, functions and principles of local government. Organizational and financial bases of local government. Bodies of local government. Powers of local self-government. Role of local self-government in the democratic system.
Mass Media and Political Process	Forms of Mass Media. Principal objectives of mass media. News and information. TV and politics. Essence and role of propaganda. Information policy in Russia (official and alternative). Freedom of speech and press in a democratic society. Mass media development in Russia. Political credibility of the press. The influence of mass media on the government. Mass media and the youth. Formation of information culture. Formation of newspaper reading skills.

Global Conflicts and State Defense	The reasons of wars. Diplomatic means of conflict resolution. Embassies. Trade and culture against wars. Peace movement. Anti-war organizations. National diplomacy. Military force as a means to resolve conflicts. Armed forces and disarmament. The arms race and its hardships on the people. The problems of weapons reduction. Sizing-down in the structure of armed forces. Duty of service in the armed forces. The issue of a professional army. Democracy and the problems of necessary reform of the army.
National and International Symbols, Anthems, Ceremonies	The origin of symbols and seals; their role in political and public life. Russian national symbols (seal, flag, anthem) and their history: seal, flag, anthem. Rules relating to the use of national symbols and the attitude of citizenry towards symbols. President's inauguration ceremony. Russian awards in the past and present: medals, honors. State holidays and customs. Symbols of separate regions and cities of Russia. Symbols of powerful foreign countries and international organizations. Memorable days of an international calendar, remembrance days.
Family	Family as a model of a society and a special system of relations. Advantages of family life. The influence of family and school on spiritual development of the person. The factors of adverse influence on family. Material well-being of the family. Family duty, care of the family members. Family as a source of happiness of the person. Family policy of the Russian Federation. Public organizations as protection of family interests and women's rights. Family and household character and its influence on formation of a person. Role models of civic behavior: active civic position of parents. Role of senior members of the family in children's civic upbringing. Civic responsibility of parents for children's upbringing: law and tradition.
Economics and the Development of Society	Economic life of a society. Types of economic systems, their distinctive features. Dependence of living standards on economic conditions. Industry: structure, factors, types. Measure of economic activity. State and market. The concept of market. The markets of the goods, labor, capital. The market mechanism and state regulation. Economic policy. Property relationships. Free labor. Profit. Entrepreneurship. Sources of income of different groups of the population. Russian economics. The reasons of economic difficulties. Financial system of Russia. The formation of market relations. Privatization. Labor in conditions of market economy. Minimum wage. Employment and unemployment. Freedom of the manufacturer. Price flexibility. Fair taxes. Competition. The ways of economic stabilization. Economic freedom and social responsibility. Culture of manufacture and consumption. Moral - legal bases of economic relations. Global economics. Russia in the system of international economic relations. International division of labor and international trade. Economic cooperation and integration.
Man and the Environment (Ecology)	Interaction of people and environment. Nature and economic activity of the people on the Earth. Politics and environment. Characteristics of the modern ecological crisis. Transition to recyclable industry. Economics and environment. Environmental protection. The role of voters in the solution of ecological problems. People's actions in protection of nature. High-school children and the solution of ecological problems. The law on land and nature protection. Private land property. Land property and land usage. The attitude of the owner towards his land.

Notes

1. I am grateful for the critiques and clarification provided by Dr. Stephen L. Schechter, Russell Sage College (Troy, NY), and Dr. Sergei Losev, Samara Center for Civic Education (Samara, Russia).

2. The city and region of Samara sit on the banks of the Volga River, about 600 miles east of Moscow.

3. According to the 1992 Federal Law on Education, responsibility for the curriculum in Russian schools is divided among three domains: a federal component (mandating 60 percent of the curriculum), a regional component (30 percent of the curriculum), and a local/school component (10 percent of the curriculum). "The Basics of Self-Determination" falls within the regional component in Samara and constitutes the civics curriculum for their region. The Samara region was one of the first regions to design its regional component, after Moscow and St. Petersburg. For more on the 1992 Federal Law on Education and its curricular implications, see Oreshkina (2002) and Webber (2000, 132-136).

4. *Project Citizen* is a national civic education program for middle school students developed in 1995 by the Center for Civic Education (CCE) in Calabasas, California. With the spread of CCE programs beyond the U.S. through its "Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange" program, also initiated in 1995, *Project Citizen* materials have been translated and/or adapted for use in more than 30 countries, including Russia. The Russian variant adapts the fundamental ideas and processes of *Project Citizen* to Russian civic education goals, placing greater emphasis, for example, on actual project implementation in local communities. The Russian Federal Ministry of Education has dubbed this variant "I Am a Citizen of Russia," to differentiate it from the American model and to underscore its uniquely Russian qualities. More information about the American model of *Project Citizen* may be obtained on the web; see <http://www.civiced.org/project_citizen.html>.

5. Vladimir Pakhomov, director of the Samara Center for Civic Education. Comments at Teacher Training Institute seminar, 3 September 2001.

6. For more background on the emergence of post-Soviet civic education in Russia, see Vaillant 1998.

7. One of the criticisms of Soviet education during *perestroika* was the gap between what was being taught in schools and the realities outside of school. Of course, when one wishes to implement reforms designed to create a new reality, albeit a democratic rather than communist reality, one is open to the same criticism. This gap, left unredressed, can breed discontent, disillusionment, and cynicism. Even mature democracies are not immune from this danger.

8. The Pioneers, *Komsomol*, and many other conveyors of moral/character education were disbanded after 1991. This was part of a general effort to de-ideologize education in Russia. Unfortunately, educators and government officials did not replace these institutions with less-ideological alternatives, producing a serious gap in the moral upbringing of children and youth. Only within the last few years have leaders in Russia recognized the need for new institutions and activities to support *vospitanie*.

9. The issue of patriotism—what it should mean and how it should be taught—is a controversial and unresolved question among Russian educators, who seek to foster attachment and allegiance to the nation without perpetuating blind obedience and uncritical acquiescence to the state.

10. Students enter the state university and pedagogical university after completion of the 11th grade and begin a five-year undergraduate program.

11. Even this is not saying much. According to Webber and Webber (1994), the pedagogical "cycle" of lectures/seminars in the early 1990s comprised only 9 to 13 percent of the pedagogical university's curriculum, with the subject matter cycle consuming 60 to 70 percent of the entire curriculum. Indeed, they report that in the five-year program, a student would spend 668

hours in physical education lessons and only 400 hours in pedagogy courses. According to the authors, Russian educators do not view this disparity as a positive characteristic of teacher preparation.

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10

Teacher Theorizing in Civic Education: An Analysis of Exemplary Teacher Thinking in the United States and Hungary

Jeffrey W. Cornett and Janos Setenyi

The authors have collaborated since 1996 on the research and evaluation of the international education for democracy program between the Civitas Association-Hungary and the Florida Law Related Education Association, Inc. This program is a partnership administered by the Center for Civic Education.[1] As a part of this program in 2001, we investigated the potential of action research and research on teacher mediation of the civics curriculum for preservice and inservice education of teachers and for program improvement.

The theorizing of a Florida teacher, Rosie Heffernan, whose students have won multiple national *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* competitions in the United States, and a Hungarian teacher, Laszlo Edenyi, whose students won the Hungarian national competition, "Citizen in a Democracy" in 2000, are highlighted. Implications of teacher theorizing research, collaborative action research, and teacher education programs that assist students in the identification of their own theorizing are discussed.

Teacher Mediation and Teacher Theorizing

During the past twenty years it has been clearly established that how teachers think about teaching and learning significantly affects what students experience in schools. This thought process is an intersection of theory and practice (Wright 2000). The central place that core teacher theories play was highlighted in a book edited by Ross, Cornett, and McCutcheon. They state,

> Teaching is practical work carried out in the socially constructed, complex, and institutionalized world of school, which shapes teachers' actions and gives context to their meaning. As a result, teachers could not begin to practice without some knowledge of the context of their practice and some ideas about what can and should be done in those circumstances. In this sense, teachers are guided by personal, practical theories that structure their activities and guide them in decision making. (1992, 3)

In civics, Patrick and Hoge recognize that the teacher is a powerful influence upon the civics classroom. They state, "The classroom climate established by the teacher is one key to the development of civic attitudes through formal instruction. Another key is regular and systematic teaching about issues" (1991, 443). Torney-Purta completed a systematic survey of civic knowledge and engagement in 28 countries and suggests the importance of the thoughtful discussion of issues in a civics content-rich environment and the importance of teacher education efforts that foster such environments. She states,

> Still another predictor in the area of instructional practices suggests that one of the best ways to strengthen civic education is by enhancing the climate for open and respectful discussion of social and political issues in the classroom. This should take place in a content-rich environment. Promoting the abilities of teachers to foster such a climate and discussion would require extensive efforts in teacher training and communication with parents to explain the purpose and structures of these approaches. (See Chapter 2, 40)

The teacher, of course, is not the sole determiner of that open climate. A carefully developed understanding of the importance of the elements of democratic deliberative classrooms should enable educators to improve their abilities to facilitate such discourse (see Chapter 6). No matter the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that preservice and inservice teachers possess, the theorizing of these teachers does significantly influence the classroom milieu and ultimately what students have the opportunity to learn in the civics explicit and hidden curriculum.

Rationale for Further Research in the U.S. and Hungary. In social studies and in civic education, there are a few examples of how that theorizing and mediation occurs (Cornett 1990a, 1990b; Fickle 2000; Jenne 1997; Slekar 1998; Thornton 1991). Thornton submits the importance of developing these examples because, "As gatekeepers, teachers make the day-to-day decisions concerning both the subject matter and the experiences to which students have access and the nature of that subject matter and those experiences" (1991, 238).

Parker discusses the need for studies of teacher mediation and the hermeneutic rather than technical approach associated with such research,

> The sort of study I am calling inquiry on teachers' mediation of curricula marks a break with this research on teachers' behavior and cognition by parting with its prior question. It asks instead, How do teachers make sense of their work, and how do their understandings create the curriculum-in-practice? Put another way, it asks, How do teachers come between students, curriculum, and milieu, and how does that coming-between, that agency or mediation, shape practice? (1987, 7)[2]

While civic educators are rightly concerned about the nature of civic learning in the current political climate (Butts 2001), for appropriate content (Branson 2001), and the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed in education for democratic citizenship (Patrick and Vontz 2001), we believe they should also attempt to understand the nature of the theorizing of civic educators and the influence of that theorizing on civic learning. That understanding should influence the teacher education curriculum in turn.

However, there is a need for more studies that chronicle the theorizing of teachers and influence the processes of teacher education programs. Fickle suggests that "it is time we turned a more critical eye to our examination of teacher theories and how we support such critical examination in teacher education programs" (2000, 386).

While there are few studies of civics teacher theorizing in the United States, examples in the emerging democracy of Hungary are perhaps even more difficult to identify. This following brief sketch describes the problems faced in Hungary's emerging democracy of developing thoughtful civic educators, which we faced at the beginning of the Civitas program in Hungary. The world of civic knowledge, attitudes, and skills is an entity, a "soft" field that is undoubtedly very difficult to grasp for school education. It means not only the acquaintance with civil rights but the ability to apply those rights as well. Its teaching is complicated from two points of view: on the one hand it implies civil techniques or skills which can only be "radiated" and on the other hand—differently from concepts and institutions which can be taught from books—the values and forms of behavior young people adopt from the family at home are strongly predominating.

The basis for these values and forms of behavior adopted at home is provided by the post-communist bourgeoisie, which "understands" the importance of efforts made in one's private life or in the family and deems that it is the orderly, bourgeois world inside the house, the car, and the garden that counts, and holds that the outside world is a mere enemy. It is characterized by a lack of willingness to cooperate, impatience; inability to reach a compromise, the usage of simplifications and public districts, which stem from the unpredictability of fellow citizens, of institutions, and of a "distributing-plundering" state.

It is here, under these circumstances, that we have to establish the culture of unrestrained dialogue, the "proprietor's consciousness" of democracy.

The question is to what extent the traditional Hungarian school delivering knowledge from books will be able to conform with the requirements of unrestrained dialogue. It is impossible to comment on cases, values, the truth, or forms of behavior *ex cathedra*; however, at present, school education overburdened with natural sciences is operating in this manner. This calls for the reevaluation of the teacher's role. The teacher's role in the last century was to be the model whose task was to civilize. In the 1960s, a new role was attributed to the teacher, that of the professional distributor of knowledge, who is dressed into a white laboratory uniform and by measuring and assessing is the embodiment of the new test culture. The teacher of today is an uncertain mediator: the consensual contents of education have vanished in the air, and the expectations of school users have become diversified. The school of the future will presumably require a kind of partnership relationship where questions can be asked, and for this there is no pattern in the tradition of the Hungarian school system.[3]

A Foundational Case. While there are a number of studies that illustrate the theorizing of teacher practitioners (Cornett, Yeotis, and Terwilliger 1990; Sweeney, Bula, and Cornett 2001), there are few that provide insights into the theorizing of civics and/or law-related education (LRE) teachers. Influenced by a wide range of theorists including the work of Dewey (1933), Tyler (1949),[4] Schwab (1970), Walker (1971), Reid (1979), McCutcheon (1981), Calderhead (1984), and Clandinin (1986). Cornett examined the relationship among teacher thoughts and actions in a particular American government teacher's classroom (Cornett 1990a).

The teacher, Sue Chase, had five major Personal Practical Theories (PPTs). They were labeled as such because they were constructed from experiences outside the role of teacher (personal), from the role of teacher (practical), and they were systematically guiding her practice (theories). These were as follows: PPT1, Unconditional Positive Regard; PPT2, Empathic Understanding; PPT3, Teacher as Human; PPT4, Learning and Teaching as Fun; PPT5, Organized and Systematic Presentation of Material. The teacher's thought processes are the central, collective filters that determine what students have the opportunity to learn in the school curriculum. This applies to the stated curriculum, the planned curriculum, the enacted curriculum, and the hidden curriculum.

Other significant influences may include community norms (Romanowski 1996),[5] school and district administrators, staff developers, textbook and other educational vendors, parents, media, legislators, professional associations, court decisions, and state and national standards. Cornett (1990b), refers to these outside of the classroom influences as external influences on teacher decision making; that is they are external to the commonplaces in the classroom of the teacher, students, subject matter, and milieu (Schwab 1970).

The implications were profound for Chase of the identification of these PPTs and their impact on her instructional decision making. This collaborative research made her tacit teacher theorizing explicit and provided her the opportunity to reflect on the nature of her practice in a manner that included the analysis of the congruence of her beliefs and practice, and the relationship of her theorizing to formal theory. The positive growth and changes in pedagogy in her practice have been chronicled (Cornett and Chase 1989; Cornett et al. 1992), and resulted in a stronger appreciation for her role as curriculum innovator and developer, and for a heightened sense of professionalism that included publications and additional research with other social studies teacher educators (Chase and Merryfield 1998).

This initial work led to a process that encouraged teachers to reflect on their own practice in a way that would yield the cognitive map guiding their practices (Cornett 1990b). Several premises emerged from this study, including the following: 1) teaching is a highly complex, practical, and deliberative activity; 2) teacher decision-making is significantly influenced by the personal practical theories of the teacher; 3) teacher reflectivity is enhanced by a reflective process that involves teacher and/or teacher and researcher partners that collect data systematically on the influence of those personal practical theories.[6]

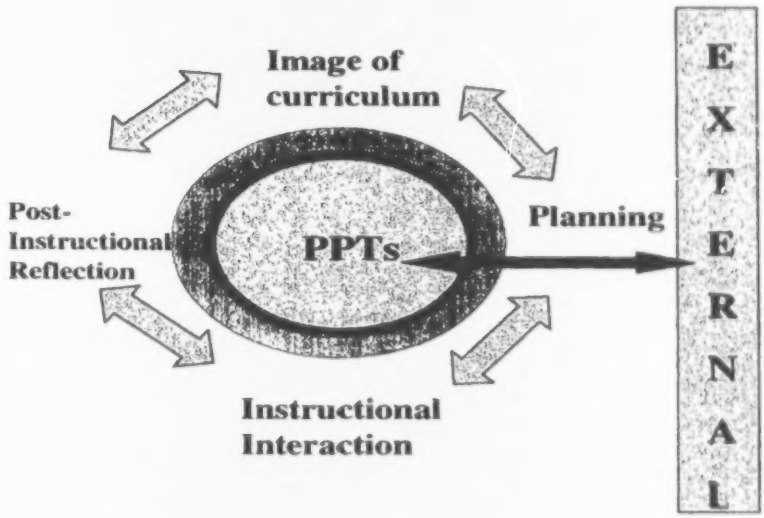
These principles guided the development of the following general stages of teacher data collection and analysis that have been adapted in both depth and data collection. They also guided analysis procedures that were modified as necessary in both the Florida and Hungary studies.

I. Identification of personal practical theories:
   a. Devise a tentative list of PPTs based upon a reflective exercise (e.g., identify one of the best or worst teaching moments), explain why you have identified it as such, and indicate what core PPT or PPTs were present in your thinking.
   b. Develop a tentative list of PPTs, and then rank order them in a manner you believe represents your practice.
   c. Identify possible external influences on your practice.
   d. Develop a diagram that illustrates what you believe is the interaction of your PPTs.

II. Analysis of how personal practical theories are manifested in practice:
   a. Sample your planning, interaction, and post-instructional reflections, and collect data sheets that depict your discourse and deliberations.
   b. Determine the relationship (if any) between your actions and your PPTs.
   c. Chart the congruence among your PPTs and your actions.
   d. Determine the appropriateness of that congruence by reflection on the data.

III. Develop an action plan for how to improve your practice:
   a. Suggest literature that may inform your theorizing.
   b. Outline additional techniques for gathering feedback on your practice

Figure 10.1
Naturalistic Curriculum Development Model
Presented to Civitas Hungary Teachers



Participants in preservice and inservice courses and staff development contexts are provided the opportunity to identify their PPTs and discuss the implications of these PPTs for their practice. In each instance, the curriculum development model is explained. Briefly, it is suggested that the teacher's PPTs influence all phases of teaching, from the initial rough conceptualization of the curriculum, to written and mental planning, to instructional interaction where students are present in the classroom, to post-instructional reflection about "how it went."

We (Cornett and Setenyi) consider each teacher's PPTs (see Figure 10.1) to be flexible, interactive, and constantly evolving. Furthermore, daily teaching experience, teacher-to-teacher collaboration, action research projects, and other formalized ways of learning (in-service teacher training courses, etc.) can significantly influence the modification and development of the existing PPTs.

Nevertheless, the two observed civic education teachers (Heffernan and Edenyi) showed exceptionally clear, conscious (reflexive) and well-formulated PPTs. Further research may prove our current hypothesis that the combination

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of clear formulation, constant self-reflection and flexibility (to the external influences, feedback, and the ongoing search for quality knowledge and skills) may be a "magic formula" for successful teaching in civic education.

An Exemplar from the United States: Rosie Heffernan

Cornett conducted a study of four exemplary civics and law related education teachers for the Florida Law Related Education Association, Inc. (1996a). Ms. Rosalie "Rosie" Heffernan was one of the participants in that research. An excerpt of her case study is provided below.

Heffernan is a social studies teacher and department chairperson at Our Lady of Lourdes Academy in Miami, Florida. She has worked at this high school since 1983. Her prior teaching experience was at Holy Rosary School as a social studies and English instructor from 1981-1983. The primary data related to Heffernan were collected in 1996 in a series of interviews and observations. Periodic updates on her thought processes and accomplishments have occurred during LRE events and informal conversations.

Heffernan has taught AP Government, Honors American Government, Law Studies, Honors American History, and Economics, and she serves as the Mock Trial Teacher and Advisor. She has served as a member of the Civics Committee of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), a testing specialist with Educational Testing Services (ETS), and as a member of the Civics Delegation from the United States to Hungary, of the Civitas International Exchange program. Her awards and recognitions include an NEH grant to study the U.S. Constitution, Outstanding Leadership in Constitutional Studies from the Center for Civic Education, and Teacher of the Year from the Florida Law Related Education Association. Her students regularly compete in the national *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* competition and placed first in 1994, 1997, 2000, 2001, second in 1998 and 1999, fourth in 1995, and third in 1993. She has taken two years off from the competition during the last decade.

She wrote an overview of her philosophy and accomplishments as part of a teacher recognition program. Portions of that paper are provided below because of their powerful expressions of her LRE theory and practice:

> The understanding of my strengths and limitations as an educator has enabled me to effectively utilize the "little knowledge" that I possess and has provided me the gratification of watching young girls evolve into intelligent, civic-minded and self-assured young women. My dedication to the program of civic education began when I realized that my national values and knowledge, transported from New England, were neither recognized nor revered in Miami, Florida. Although the schools were successful in conveying America's history and political system in U.S. history and government classes, we were

remiss at imparting America's soul. While catering to the minds of our students in state mandated courses, we forgot to nourish their hearts in the formation of an enlightened citizenry.

Realistically, I recognized that I possessed but a small amount of knowledge in many fields, but a great amount in the one that my students needed most—American studies. Through the use of simulation exercises, cooperative learning techniques, and freedom of expression, my students began to feel America's heritage and debate it's principles. Lightweight, movable desks enable us to creatively transform the classroom into congressional hearing rooms, court rooms, and (with the help of a variety of carpets) states and countries. After studying government through mock legislative committees, passage of bills and Supreme Court hearings, the students extend their active learning techniques by participating in such programs as Close-Up, Metro Town, Mock Presidential Conventions, Mock Trial Competitions and the National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

My goal as a teacher has been to instill in my students a belief in themselves and their abilities, regardless of how limited or limitless they may be. My philosophy has always been that if the students merely memorize the lesson, then it will pass, but if they internalize it in their hearts, they will carry it forever. This philosophy is most fondly cherished in the formation of my Constitutional and Law Studies Class. . . . I sincerely felt that "If you build it, they will come," and they came . . . and came . . . and came. The success of this class reverberates from the school, to the family, to the community at large. In a distinctive community like Miami, where an ancestry of repressive government sometimes breeds a skepticism of the Bill of Rights, my girls have defended its principles to their parents and translated its precepts to their grandparents in their native tongue. . . .

My goal of developing civic dispositions has been further extended through active learning techniques such as mandating service hours at campaign headquarters, attending and participating in Mock Presidential Conventions, and initiating twelve Bill of Rights workshops designed and presented by my classes to the entire student body of the school. These experiences help the students to internalize a heritage and a government that they have not inherited from their parents. . . .

After several conversations, she identified her PPTs (not rank ordered, but in order of revelation):

1) I believe in respect and caring, and responsibility for preparation.
2) I don't ever want to hear the two words "satisfied" and "content."
3) I don't have the answers, but I'll listen, and I'll let you know I care.

4) I don't allow gossip in my classroom.
5) Students can come to me if they need to know the truth about what's going on.
6) You don't have to know more than the students.
7) Treating students like they are your peers truly requires a balancing act.
8) The respect I expect from them, I give them.
9) I'm just a tool; they use me to get where they're going.

These PPTs were confirmed as still guiding her practice during another conversation in 2002. The only variation was in PPT7, where Heffernan indicated that it did not sound "right" in today's climate and that the more politically correct sound would be "equal humans" in place of "peers."

She summarized her discussion of personal theory and the notion that the in and out of school contact is like a seamless web, with the following: "I think it's not a job, where things are separated, it's like a mosaic. It's the same role, a continuation, a part of your life." She continued:

> By implementing a Socratic method and a free marketplace of ideas forum, the Constitution class is allowed to freely question and discuss issues such as whether a majority could require a certain set of values to be taught in school. After effectively debating this topic and reaching a consensus based upon common welfare and individual rights, the students often wrestle with the pedagogy of other courses whose teachings are consistent with the school's philosophy, but inconsistent with the First and Ninth Amendments.
>
> Offering the *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* program in private and Catholic schools can present challenges not found in the public sector, yet the benefits reaped for the community, the school, and most importantly, the students themselves, far outweigh each dilemma. This is indeed the most challenging I have experienced in my twelve years as a social studies teacher. When I see my girls struggling to find an answer, dispelling a former opinion as constitutionally incorrect, or having the righteousness to stand behind their opinions, the true value of the program becomes indisputable.

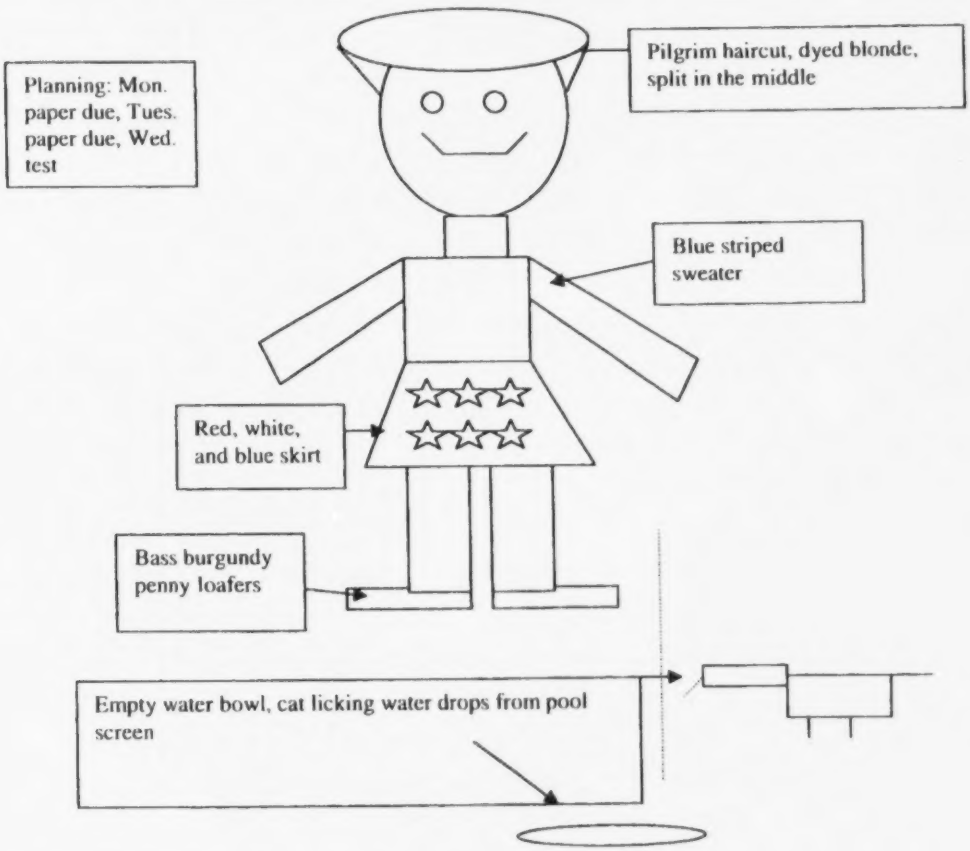
Cornett's first visit to Heffernan's school began, after a brief conversation with the principal, in the cafeteria where Rosie was conducting an orientation for the upcoming field trip to the *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* national competition. As he entered the room, Rosie was concluding her remarks to the girls, emphasizing her expectations for good behavior and the importance of representing the school honorably.

Heffernan greeted him warmly and following several additional interactions with students about the field trip, escorted him to her room. The first thing he noticed in her room was a small group of eight students working on a

mock trial after school. She explained her presence to the girls and commented about what a wonderful school this was, with a supportive principal, teachers, and especially students. The girls giggled at her emphasis on the latter.

Heffernan's attention then went to the drawing one of the young ladies had made on the board. It was a caricature of Rosie. A rough attempt to capture the student's work appears below in Figure 10.2:

Figure 10.2
Heffernan Caricature Drawn by Her Students


Planning: Mon. paper due, Tues. paper due, Wed. test
Pilgrim haircut, dyed blonde, split in the middle
Blue striped sweater
Red, white, and blue skirt
Bass burgundy penny loafers
Empty water bowl, cat licking water drops from pool screen

Heffernan reacted to the caricature in good humor. She read all of the comments and then congratulated the students on their portrayal. This interaction typified her ability to positively guide the hidden curriculum of her pedagogy. This positive interaction and modeling of acceptance of student discourse, even when it is potentially personally critical, is clearly influenced by programs such as *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* that provide intense forums for teacher and student dialogue.

Heffernan later described her appreciation for both the *We the People* program and her schools' openness to it in the following written response:

> I have found that students who are involved in this program become much more than simply a "class." Because an extensive amount of time is spent with one's assigned "group" in particular and with the class in general, a loyalty and mutual concern is developed among the students and teachers. Because the class encompasses a wide range of abilities, students learn to share their talents and accept assistance in their weak areas.
>
> Although constructive criticism is an integral part of this curriculum, initially many students were hesitant to offend and quick to defend. However, as their understanding developed so did their motivation for improvement. . . . Shy, reserved students developed self-confidence after completing this program and lackadaisical students found commitment. On several occasions, the students chided peers, faculty, and family members for the unconstitutionality of their positions. . . . The students who participate in this program of study do not shed their knowledge "at the schoolhouse gate." They apply it while watching the news, monitoring Supreme Court decisions, exercising their right to vote, serving on juries, promoting the general welfare, and defending their individual rights.

It is clear that, for many students, the interactions with Heffernan in and out of the classroom have a tremendous impact on their view of government, their role in it, and on their future aspirations. These interactions were often quite intense. Illustrative comments from interviews with several students are included below. Based upon observations and interviews with students and administration, we are confident that they represent the feelings of the students in general, especially those most engaged in the law-related curriculum and mock trial and *We the People* program.

One former student compared the positive, supportive, yet demanding attitude of Heffernan with that of other faculty, and stated,

> You leave high school with a lot of scars from courses and teachers that you had to take. But Constitution and Law Studies Class leaves you with a tattoo—because you chose to get it, you can pick what you want to stay, and it stays with you forever.

Cornett selected two students to interview based upon their apparent high levels of engagement in class and their obvious commitment to law-related education as evidenced by their involvement in mock trial competition.

One of the volunteers was the student who had drawn a caricature of Heffernan on the board. She states:

> Student 1: We can normally play around with her. We rag on her about her cats. We were over at her house and the cat needed some water.

It was the first time we ever went to her house and the cat was licking water off raindrops!
Cornett: Do you go to her house often?
Student 1: Yes. She's made dinner for us, and we give her presents at Christmas. She's a very rational person, logical and reasonable. She's very motivated, and she's one of those who believes you can do anything you put your mind to. Sometimes she has no mercy (even when you tell her you have too much work and you beg). If she tells you, rarely will she give you a break; if it's the rule, it's the rule, no exceptions. She pushed you to the limit.
Cornett: Is she different from other teachers?
Student 1: Yes! She's a lot more involved than the other teachers. I guess she puts more things at your level, and she gives you things to get involved in. She gives us a lot of writing which forces you to think for yourself.
Student 2: She has a favorite quote which sums it up: "You've given me the best of you, and now I need the rest of you."
Student 1: We would all start singing, "the ant can't move the rubber tree plant."
Student 2: With Ms. Heffernan you're forced to think things through.
Cornett: Does she give you feedback? Both students smile and look at each other and laugh.
Student 2: Yes, she's really blunt. She'll say, "Guys, it sucks! That's terrible. You have to do better."
Student 1: In the beginning I could not believe it, but as you get to know her, you know it is her way of getting you to do your best.
Student 2: Yeah, in American History class we demanded one day of the month where she had to tell us only good things, nothing about improvement!
Student 1: Her criticism is mostly on our writing. But, we turned out to be great writers. She's different than the English teachers. She taught us the "no fluff theory." She taught us to be concise. English teachers are more stuck on format; she's stuck on substance.
Student 2 simulates her marking, and says emphatically as she moves her arm in a crossing-out motion, "Fluff, fluff, fluff!" She comments: By the end of the year now, we're good writers.
Student 1: We tease her when she makes a mistake, like with the Yoder case and when she says 'Marybury' instead of 'Marbury.' She loves it when we do it. We joke with her all the time.
Student 2: We ask her why she's here and not at a university since she's so good and demanding. It's clear that she wouldn't get the same motivation there as she does here. She's a personal person and she makes it a point to know the students. We can call her on the

phone and she'll help us out. When there's an issue we're upset about, she forces us to look at both sides. She says not to use half of our brain, but all of it. She wants us to think with our head and not our heart.
Student 1: She's just. You have to act right every day. Just because you have her several times a day for class or outside stuff, you get no favors. She doesn't cut us any slack. She's demanding—she won't settle for less.
Student 2: I think that's right. She's just, demanding, and mother-like. She takes us under her wing a lot. She'll give us a kiss and a hug; say how proud she is of us. She gets in touch with us. When we were at competition, she would nag me to eat.
Student 1: She's very intelligent.
Student 2: When it comes to math, now that's her flaw. She tells us to check our numbers, we need to check hers.
Student 1: One other thing. She's the only teacher we can have a slip of the tongue and it's okay.
Student 2: She tells jokes, but they are usually weak.
Student 1: She's by far the best teacher. She's not only given us the skills, but if you're interested in politics, she helps you formulate your beliefs and values. Once we start taking her for classes, we become liberal.
Cornett: What about her anti-Gingrich bumper stickers?
Student 1: We see that as freedom of expression. If we want to put up another one with a contrary opinion, she will say, "Bring it on down."[7]
Cornett: Does her more liberal political stance cause any tension? Are your parents conservative?
Student 1: Yes, most are here. We're Cuban-American, first generation Americans. I talk to my family about politics all the time; she has helped me be more logical about it.
Student 2: It gets tense when your family thinks one way and you develop different ideas.
Student 1: I want to study law and fight with my grandparents some about this and my politics.
Student 2: She makes us back up our ideas. If we have questions, we do research in the library. She's always working there. If she's read a book, you'll see her reading it again. She's always working.

Student work is facilitated by Heffernan's high standards and varied pedagogy. Heffernan mixes lecture with discussion and numerous projects where students research topics and present their findings. A typical exchange in class where Heffernan is checking on student understanding of the basics of law is represented by the following transcription.

Heffernan: Why would trial by jury maintain fairness?
Student 2: Trial by your peers.

Heffernan: What else could the jury be made up of? Would you be comfortable with a jury of 12 lawyers? Would you be comfortable with a jury of 12 patients that have problems with doctors, if you were a doctor?
Chorus: No.
Heffernan: What does it mean to have a jury of your peers? Various students contribute and one student states: You have to have a fair group.
Heffernan: Why does a jury represent the majority of people?
Student 3: A jury is a representation of the larger society.
Student 4: A jury represents a group who has had different experiences and has different backgrounds.
Heffernan: Back to the question: If a foreigner comes to this country, how would you answer the following questions: What is a trial by jury? Why do we practice it? How is it practical?

A number of students respond at length, not interrupting each other, but building quickly on other's ideas. After several minutes, Heffernan, switches to the topic of jury selection and quizzes the students on their assigned reading. The exchange is marked by rapid questions and answers and the climate may be described as intense, yet comfortable. Almost every student offers an answer or opinion during the discussion. Heffernan discusses with students what types of questions lawyers ask prospective jurors and then concludes the lesson as follows:

Heffernan: Now are there people who think they are too good to serve on a jury?
Students: Yes.
Heffernan: Are there people who brag about how he/she got out of serving on a jury?
Students: Yes. (Various students discuss how irresponsible this is.)
Heffernan: Remember, serving on a jury is an opportunity, not a hindrance on our daily lives.

This appeal is a common one. Heffernan mixes respect for debate, constitutional freedoms, and politics with patriotism that is often quite evident. Students tease her about her liberal politics, and she banters with them about the shortsightedness of many conservatives. Through it all, she models a respect for diversity, for the richness of American politics, and for the magic represented in the "living" Constitution.

Congruence Among PPTs, Formal Theory, and Practice

Once the teacher's PPTs are identified, and patterns of the PPTs in planning, instructional interaction, and post-instructional reflection are identified, it is important to examine the congruence of this theorizing with

those theories identified in the professional literature as exemplary. This analysis provides the basis for determining if 1) a teacher's practice is exemplary by professional standards; 2) the professional standards are appropriate for the discipline and are indeed based upon real teaching practice; 3) the teacher wants to strengthen the ground for improving practice and that action plan may be organized around the teacher's mental scaffolding, not some generalized notion of teaching effectiveness. A brief discussion of Heffernan's congruence and its relationship to NCSS standards for "Powerful Teaching and Learning" is provided below.

Heffernan is patient with students who share their viewpoints, yet, she is demanding that they continue to sharpen their skills and depth of understanding. She has high expectations for students and believes that they must work hard and focus on the topics at hand. She quietly reminds students of their responsibility and demonstrates her respect and caring for them (PPT1) in a variety of ways. She works with students tirelessly to see that they understand key points. A simple, yet pervasive way in which she models her concern is that she will walk around the room while students are sharing ideas in small groups, and when students ask her questions, she will bend down and get at their eye level. This physical attempt to be on their level is matched by the attempt to get them to higher and higher levels of understanding. This is consistent with her PPT2. She does not want the students to be content with what they know. As a result, many conversations with students conclude with, "That's good, now where do we go from here?" PPTs 3, 4, and 5 are evident in that students do not gossip, yet students do share their personal concerns. Heffernan is supportive, yet often quite frank. This in turn blends with PPT7— treating students like equals—by positioning her as a knowledgeable tool (PPT9) rather than an all-knowing information giver (PPT6). Her theories are summed up in PPT8, "the respect I expect from them, I give them." In conclusion, her theories combine to help develop an atmosphere of respect and productivity where the quest is always to continue to improve.

Heffernan clearly demonstrates the components of thoughtfulness.[8] Her lessons are built on concepts of key importance in understanding the law, and she gives students time to think through outside study and in-class collaboration. Her lectures are peppered with ongoing requests for students to offer further explanations for their conclusions. Heffernan models thoughtfulness. She listens intensely and seems to savor, almost taste, student responses as she deliberates about ways to build on the students' observations.

Heffernan models all aspects of the NCSS standards as well. The subject matter is carefully chosen for not only its general meaningfulness, but its relevance to the issues for the first generation, Cuban-American dominated

student body. Heffernan builds on their understandings from previous courses, ongoing courses, and encourages students to integrate their studies. Nearly every exchange is based upon some democratic value, and the class sessions are both challenging and require students to be engaged actively.

Janos Setenyi visited her classroom in 1996 as a part of the Hungarian Civitas delegation. He observed,

> One of the most interesting and challenging elements of Heffernan's classes is the trust-building process between teacher and students. Rosie's students are very special ones: mainly first generation American girls with Hispanic (mostly Cuban) middle-class origin. Since their families can't provide the routine career guidance for them, their educational experience may have decisive impact on their future career choices. Conscious development of the students' self-image and career expectations is a core element in Heffernan's work.

The discussions between her and Setenyi showed that Heffernan understood this responsibility, and formulated her PPTs in order to meet this challenge. In sum, Heffernan appears to be a very knowledgeable, demanding, yet nurturant coach of thoughtful citizens. She laughs with students and enjoys them, yet has little tolerance for "fluff." Her serious yet caring nature seems to inspire hard work and quality performance in her students.

An Exemplar from Hungary: Mr. Laszlo Edenyi

An attempt to address the lack of known Hungarian exemplars of thoughtful mediators was begun by Cornett (1996b) in one teacher's classroom during the first Civitas delegate exchange between Hungary and Florida. It was addressed more systemically in the most recent evaluation of Hungary's *Citizen in a Democracy* competition (Cornett and Dziuban 2001). Of the three teachers in that study, the theorizing of one teacher, Laszlo Edenyi, is provided below. Translation of Hungarian text was provided by Setenyi, and Setenyi, Cornett, and Dziuban were responsible for the interpretation of data.

Laszlo Edenyi was born on June 19, 1970 in Szolnok, Hungary. He completed agricultural high school with a specialization in agricultural mechanics. He went to teaching training college, and earned a history-culture degree from Kossuth Lajos University (Debrecen). He is currently enrolled as a third-year law student.

He is a teacher of history and philosophy at Zrinyi Miklos Gymnasium High School in Budapest. From 1998, he has served as chairman of the employee's council of the school. From 2000, he has been the head of the human subject work group. He developed the following narrative:

At 30, I feel to be a basically fortunate person. I live in a healthy body in spirit with my wife and 15-month old daughter. I would like to spend more time with my family, but since a teacher's salary is not sufficient to support a family, I do other jobs, too (book and essay writing, editing, private lessons). Since I am fond of all these activities, generally speaking, and in work, painting or fixing things around the house, I am seldom tired. I usually spend my free time with my family, but I also like sports (basketball, soccer), reading, listening to music, and watching movies.

Whenever I can, I make our own food and drink fine wine with the meals. I also follow the events of wine culture. I like to socialize, too, and when I have the chance, I go to the exhibitions, readings, concerts and chat with friends. I plan to get a driving license and learn English.

About Zrinyi Miklos High School. Zrinyi Miklos High School was founded in 1984 as the department of another high school. Later it became independent and fought its way from an unknown, suburban school to an institution of the municipality of Budapest. At the moment the number of students is about 600, out of which 550 attend traditional high school education and the rest participate in professional education based on high school studies.

By now this school has become an institution that gives proper preparation for those wanting to go to university and also those who need general studies and go to work after school. Our school attracts students especially because the teaching staff ensures a peaceful, tolerant, empathic and respectful atmosphere beyond high standards in teaching and forming deep, basic knowledge without giving up principles of high demand.

Geographically, the high school is not situated on the edge of the city, but sociologically it is considered like that. It is known among the kids studying in schools of Kobanya and the districts of Southern and Eastern Pest and the surrounding suburbs. Due to its geographical and sociological environment many of our students come from deprived families and this fact determines the professional concept of the school.

Because of the geographical situation, our values and purposes, the composition of our students is rather heterogeneous as to their earlier knowledge, interests, skills, family background, and social situation.

The inability of students to handle emotions (or even worse: the lack of emotions) is a general problem, as is weak self-will. The most general manifestations of these in school are lack of prestige for knowledge and culture, problems of self-knowledge, self-evaluation, indifference towards studying and knowledge, and inertia.

As a consequence, we face multiple problems in teaching and their solution often demands high pedagogical culture, broad methodological skills, and also patience and empathy. The essence of our pedagogical concept is to bring cooperation and communication skills to the foreground in a setting where openness prevails. We aim to bring up open, positive-thinking, flexible personalities who are also able to develop by themselves and cherish human values.

As a result of this concept, the majority of our students attend our school with pleasure and enjoys its atmosphere. Judging from the socio-cultural environment, this is a great achievement in itself, but we also try to cater to those who want to go on to university and the number of those accepted is annually increasing.

I use the training program of Civitas in the social studies which I teach at grade 12 and also at the sessions of the Civil Circle for Kobanya. This group was organized in the fall of 1999, during the preparation for the *Citizen in Democracy* competition. Our four-member team passed on all the obstacles and more and more students gathered around the ones participating in the competition trying to help the team members. When they were given the task to solve a local problem before the national final, these supporters gave their time and energy to help the team. Thus a serious investigative essay was born about the anomalies of the waste dump near the school and a proposal was also attached about building a leisure time centre on the site with municipal support. The team named Civic Courage won the national competition with the help of the dozen supporters.

At the moment (February 23, 2001) the Civic Circle for Kobanya is a 20-strong group of young people of 16-20 years. Half of them attend high school, the other half university or trying to get into university or college. The strength of the group is its colorful composition. The members come from different parts of the society with different thinking, values and habits. It can also become a negative trait, but by building proper cohesion in the group, great results can be achieved. All the members have ties to Zrinyi Miklos High School (they either study or studied here), so their characteristics correspond to those I have already listed earlier. There is still a difference in the sense that these students were responsive to participate in sensible programs.

The Structure of the Program. It can be divided into 4 + 1 stages. First stage: Development of community (formation of a coherent group); Second stage: Sessions on rights, enforcement of rights to promote useful knowledge that is not given during traditional teaching; Third stage: On minorities and tolerance. Special emphasis is put on values and the most important goal is to form personalities who know

the minorities and look for positive solutions. Fourth stage: Easing the first career steps. Fifth stage: A trip with complex aims (incentive, diffusing knowledge, maintaining community).

Credo of a Teacher. My guiding principles naturally adhere to the environment in which I am doing my job.

• Motivation: It is fundamentally important to raise the interest of my students towards civic issues. To do this we always handle history from the present, thus many everyday questions become clearer for the students and their interest increases. When dealing with a civic issue, we invariably discuss why that certain topic is worth our attention.

• Friendliness: I find it important to create a good atmosphere in my lessons so that students would find it easy to speak about problems and ask questions.

• Values: Since the values of the students are most influenced by the family, peers and also the school, I try to promote values that lead to an honest, open, independently thinking, tolerant personality. This naturally supposes a genuine teacher figure.

• Graduality: My aim is that my students would receive useful knowledge, understand it, be able to apply it, and be able to accomplish higher intellectual tasks. All this is not to be expected from everyone but possibly more and more should step ahead. My teaching is based on student participation. I am convinced that the most efficient teaching occurs during interactive lessons.

Less is sometimes more. Well-selected, structured and methodically well-presented material offers more content than a sheer flood of knowledge.

Civitas. My relationship with the Civitas Association goes back to 1998, when I read about the competition *Citizen in Democracy* and began to prepare a team. A number of questions I had during preparation, I now know could have been answered by Civitas. At that time I tried to find solutions on my own for several reasons: I've always had to solve problems on my own; civic education in school consisted of so many local characteristics that it seemed easier to make up our own system; and I wasn't aware of the broad activity of Civitas.

In the competition of 1998-99, my team was fourth in Budapest and I got acquainted with Tibor Gal and Laslo Eich at the regional final. These two helpful young men impressed me immensely and our relationship has been good from then on. They informed me about the broad activities of Civitas and also its programs. From then on I took part in several Civitas programs and I also shared the idea of establishing the Civic Circle for Kobanya with them.

It was rewarding to observe that the structure drafted in my own logic was mainly in line with the Civitas system. I was lacking methodological skills, but then collected a lot of experience at the Civitas Summer Academy in the summer of 2000.

I told Tibor and Laszlo about the idea of the Civic Circle for Kobanya, and they offered their support, which I mainly expect in the analysis at the end of the program since external experts can add a lot to this activity.

The Best Student Products. The most problematic issues of the educational work based on my professional credo are the ones that do not depend entirely or partly on me (motivation, student participation). When I experience exceptional activity in these fields, I don't consider the greatest results inconceivable. My student named Tamas, who graduated from our school in 2000, showed an exceptional interest toward civic education so I enforced the projection of values, the systematization of knowledge, and the skill of knowledge application. I recommended books and journals to him that he devoured and turned to me with his questions. His ability, that the literature of taxonomy calls the accomplishment of high intellectual tasks, developed by the beginning of his last school year. Gradually he became able to select and form an independent opinion in most of the topics. He was my usual discussion partner when discussing political life and he frequently embarrassed me with his exceptional skills. His personal skills make him suitable to participate in the *Citizen in Democracy* competition being aggressive in debates but also ready for compromise, good at rhetoric and possessing astonishing knowledge. He naturally was a leading figure in the team winning *Citizen in Democracy* competition. Currently he attends State Administration College and is a program drafter for the Young Socialist movement. I am still in touch with him, being on the board of Civil Circle for Kobanya, and he is its outstanding personality. I like to discuss political issues with him, and I also give him advice in connection with his readings, studies and films.

Situation of Civitas in My School. The activity of the Civitas Association became known in my school when we first participated in the Citizen in Democracy competition. My colleagues were interested in how the team was doing. The teachers of human subjects were also interested in the tasks given at the competition. There was a great sympathy for the tasks since my colleagues generally disliked competitions where factual knowledge is at stake and other skills and competencies do not surface. As we all know, the *Citizen in Democracy* competition needs a wide array of skills (creativity, communication, etc.), and this allowed that not only "eggheads" could be successful.

My colleagues know this non-governmental organization in the field of civic education and have completely identified me with the activity of the Association.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Support from the Civitas Association. An obvious strength is the openness and directness towards teachers and students. The representatives of the Association impressed me as honest, open and communicative persons at all forums. I consider the independence (from politics) of the Association a strength that is not easy to ensure in Hungary. The ideals followed by Civitas are extremely attractive and they are based on genuine social demand.

The weakness of the Association is the slow reaction to governmental purposes. The preparation of the framework curricula could have, or still could encourage the publication of a teacher's manual based on the social knowledge domain. I would imagine this to be similar to the yellow book published for the Summer Academy that would be thematically suited to the curriculum framework. A properly edited teacher's manual could earn serious success on the market, too. As counterargument one could say that it can also be a risky enterprise. I think the majority of the expenses can be covered by tenders and applications.[9]

Edenyi met with Cornett and Dziuban at his school in a faculty conference room. Because of the timing of the researcher's visit to his school, no teaching was observed. The interview took place on April 4th and lasted for a little more one hour from 11:45 until 1:00 p.m. The school is a gymnasium in an area dominated by Soviet-era apartment buildings and is located in District 14. Approximately 40% of students go on for additional education that includes advanced technical and university levels. His team from last year finished first, and his team this year did not make it to the finals. He has "looped," so he was with last year's students for four years and will work with the current group throughout their remaining time at the school. This is his first year with these students. His administration is supportive whenever it can. The students' parents have honest values, and as such are supportive. Approximately one half of the teachers at his school share his values, and this is not distinguished by age (years of experience or training).

He indicated that he came to his formal post-secondary education with his core values. He learned them from his parents. In particular, his father was a tour guide, and the family traveled throughout parts of Europe. His secondary school teachers were negative examples.

The researchers shared the values-based, integrative, challenging, active, and meaningful components from the NCSS standards for powerful teaching and learning environments with Laszlo, because they seemed to be aligned

with his PPTs as evidenced by his narrative. He indicated that these standards were an excellent match for his pedagogical creed.

This linkage therefore indicates a potential blending for Edenyi of pedagogy that is a reasoned, eclectic blend of constructivist, democratic pedagogical theory aligned with best practice in the United States. Direct observation of Edenyi during his teaching in and out of school would strengthen the research base and is suggested as a further step in the evolution of this evaluation.

The interview built upon the narrative and refined the nature of the interaction of Edenyi's mental map for his teaching, his personal theorizing (see Figure 10.3). When Edenyi saw the graphic of his theorizing, he was excited and repeatedly said, "Yes, that's it!" as the researchers probed the accuracy of the model.

As the above narrative revealed, there are four core PPTs that contribute to the gestalt of his theorizing and Edenyi's image of himself as the mediator of curricular experiences for his students. From the interview, it became clear that the fundamental PPT is "genuineness from the heart" and the phrase for genuine is "*az igazi tanar*." He labels himself as the "Older Friend," but Cornett and Dziuban agree this loses something in the translation. "Nuturant Mentor" is more apt. The words "caring" and "supportive" clearly apply.

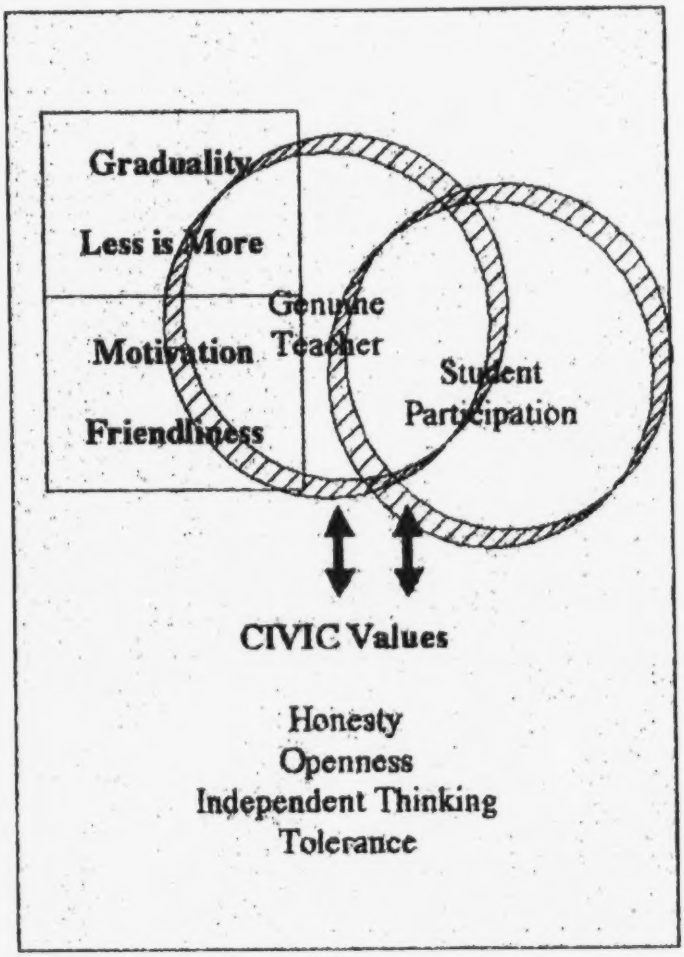
Two supportive PPTs, *graduality* and *less is more*, help him filter the curriculum in regard to the quantity and pace of lessons. As he has submitted, he prefers to cover things in depth and build upon student's knowledge throughout the multiple years he works with them. He attaches two PPTs that are climate oriented to support the curricular filters of graduality and less is more: motivation and friendliness. Together these four PPTs support the overall notion of the *genuine teacher* that filters the curricular and instructional experiences of his students to maximize student participation and yield civic values that support the core values of *honesty, openness, independent thinking*, and *tolerance* (see Figure 10.3). Both Setenyi and Cornett believe that Edenyi's theorizing is a positive exemplar of teacher thinking in the Hungarian context.

Edenyi's theorizing parallels that of other exemplary civic educators (e.g., the four case studies in Cornett 1996b). Additional research on Heffernan's pedagogy as well as Edenyi's should yield important information for teacher educators and for teacher training and is recommended for consideration by the civic education community.

Implications of Teacher Theorizing and Collaborative Action Research for Preservice and Inservice Teacher Education

It is our viewpoint that a number of other studies need to be conducted to describe the range of exemplary civic educator and law related educator

Figure 10.3
Model of Edenyi's Theorizing



practice. It is believed that a comparison of these teachers with national standards, including subject matter standards such as the Center for Civic Education's *National Standards for Civics and Government* (1994), may yield areas for enhancement of teacher knowledge, skills, and dispositions, as well as a refinement of the standards to address the complexities of teaching and the natural theorizing of exemplary teachers. Cornett suggests that,

> Because it has been demonstrated that teachers' practical knowledge and personal theorizing impacts on classroom practice and significantly determines what students have the opportunity to learn through the explicit, hidden, and null curricula, it seems apparent that researchers, teacher educators, and teachers concerned with the social studies can benefit from investigations which explicate these practical theories and their representation in teacher's curricular practice. (1990a, 250-251)

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There is no *single* civic educator's practice that defines civic teaching in general, or "best" civic educator practice for that matter. The examples of the two teachers examined briefly above show us how different and sophisticated sets of values and beliefs formulate the daily practice of civic education in a manner that we believe to be exemplary. This is a rough beginning for providing the field information on the complexities of the civic educator's teaching practice. Much remains to be done in this arena.

Certainly, there is a place for improvement of teacher reflection and subsequent practice through a variety of initiatives such as the improvement of civic and liberal intelligence through history education (Nelson and Drake 2001); through the teaching of Supreme Court cases (e.g., Vontz and Leming in Chapter 5 of this volume); through the understanding of models that illustrate the important elements of civic education content (see Chapter 1); through the study of deliberation and how to lead discussions, especially of controversial public policy (Hess 2001; Parker 2001); and through the education of teachers in key components of democratic citizenship (Patrick and Vontz 2001). A greater understanding of the process and principles of programs such as "We the People. . ." for those involved with competitions, such as those teachers described above, may be helpful in maximizing the decision-making and theorizing of such teachers. However, all such important efforts will benefit, in our view, from recognizing the centrality of teacher theorizing in the mediation of all such educative efforts.

Therefore, it is important to focus, at some significant level of concentration, future social studies, civic education, and law-related education research and teacher education activities in the following areas:

- create a user friendly method for the identification and analysis of individual PPTs for those who are not involved in academic research (teachers, teacher trainers, curriculum developers, experts of assessment and evaluation, etc.);
- analyze the key factors of PPTs of those teachers who are widely considered successful and distribute that information to all civics education stakeholders;
- include selected individual narratives of exemplary teachers, opportunities for beginning teachers to identify their theorizing and chronicle it on an ongoing basis, and develop observation and evaluation methods that enable supervisors to support teacher theorizing.

Notes

1. We would like to thank Rosie Heffernan and Laszlo Edenyi for their significant effort in the development of this work. We also acknowledge the significant contribution of Charles Dziuban, co-evaluator of the Hungary Civitas project, to the conceptualization of this work and to the broader evaluation process. In addition, we would like to thank Annette Boyd Pitts and Ernest Abisellan of Florida Law Related Education Association, Inc., and Tibor Gal and

Laszlo Eich of Civitas Hungary for their support of this chapter. The opportunity to present the initial draft of this work at the conference in Indianapolis was most valuable. We thank John Patrick for his facilitation of that event and his editorial efforts, as well as the participation of the conference for their feedback.

2. During the conference and presentation of the original draft of this chapter, Parker confirmed the importance of this type of understanding of teacher's thinking by the research community, the teacher education community, and ultimately by teachers themselves as a means of enhancing the teaching of civic education.

3. Cornett (1996b) described one such exemplary teacher, Agnes Feje in an analysis of discourse in her classroom in Szeged, Hungary. This work was further developed in the evaluation report prepared for FLREA and Civitas Hungary in 2001 (see Cornett and Dziuban 2001).

4. Greg Hamot provides in Chapter 7 of this volume an excellent illustration of the importance of the Tyler rationale as a tool for guiding teacher theorizing and for the development of a civic education curriculum for teachers and for the assessment of the products of that effort.

5. Romanowski discusses the influence of the nuclear power industry on his theorizing as a teacher in a community that was "fed and clothed by nuclear power" (291). He highlights the changes in his theorizing that result from his attempts to insert his "antinuclear" discourse in that context. For some teachers such as Sue Chase (Cornett 1990a), so-called "controversial subjects" such as pornography, abortion, drugs, guns, and the death penalty were "fair game" if the students raised a question related to the formal curriculum. Teacher educators will benefit from reading the case studies of these and other teachers. The authors recommend that the discussion of controversial issues and the issues and problems in leading democratic education be a significant part of preservice and inservice teacher education programs. See, for example, the excellent work of Walter C. Parker (2001) and Diana Hess (2001) for guidance on this topic.

6. See Jeffrey W. Cornett, "Law-Related Education: Implications from Research." *The Florida Bar Journal* 74 (January 2000), 32-37. In this manuscript the role of teacher mediation, administrator support, and the network of professional support for teachers and students is described as it impacts student cognition and ultimately positive civic engagement of youth.

7. At the conference, it was interesting to note that more than half of the participants knew Rosie, others knew "about Rosie," and "validated" the accuracy of her PPTs in a holistic manner with comments like, "That's Rosie." It is interesting to note that the Gingrich bumper sticker has been replaced by a "Reno for Governor" one, supplied by a student. This is an especially problematic candidacy for some of the parents of her students. Heffernan stated that if the students brought a "Bush for Governor" one she would display it as well.

8. The analysis is based upon the *NCSS Curriculum Standards for the Social Studies: Expectations of Excellence* 1994, 157-164. The five components of powerful teaching and learning environments include meaningful, integrative, value-based, challenging, and active.

9. The translation of the interview was provided by a university student, Emese Szunyog. She was extremely helpful and provided some translation at the Citizen in a Democracy competition for the researchers as well. The interview was videotaped for subsequent analysis and triangulation with the narrative developed by Edenyi.

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11

Civic Learning in Teacher Education: The Hungarian Experience

Janos Setenyi

This paper provides useful information on a remarkable educational innovation developed by the Civitas Association-Hungary and five regional Hungarian universities. This innovation is a civic education minor program for students in preservice teacher education in Hungary.

There are four elements of this innovation which could be replicated elsewhere:

1. Autonomous universities were taken into cooperation with the help of civic education standards.
2. Curriculum development was partially decentralized. Universities were free to combine the standards with their actual skills and capacities in order to create their own 'basket' of civic learning.
3. Elements of permanent improvement were constructed into the process of teaching and evaluation.
4. In order to create opportunities for graduates, the Civitas Association organized so called Civitas Teachers Clubs in the concerned university cities. Civitas Teachers Clubs are open to both pre-service students and in-service teacher colleagues.

In this chapter, I describe the context, the process, and the main lessons learned from this educational innovation.

The Social Context: Teaching Democracy in an Unpopular Democracy

What Does Teaching Democracy Mean? Located in Central Europe, Hungary is a post- communist country where democracy was restored in 1989. Talking about teaching democracy in a young democracy is extremely difficult. The mission of civic educators is to teach democracy, but at present none of the elements of this issue seem to be absolutely clarified and defined.

We do not have, and perhaps we cannot have, a clear and defined picture of what desirable features we should attribute to Hungarian democracy, and what is more, the teachability of democracy does not appear so obvious to us either. The names of several previous attempts having the same goal are telltale signs: we had subjects named "civic studies," "study of the state," or "study of the Constitution."

The relative unpopularity of Hungarian democracy renders our work even more difficult. Along with the questionable findings of public surveys, decided and public identification with democratic values can easily become a matter either openly laughed at or grossly indifferent to the public. It is impossible to tell now whether the way citizens relate to this young democracy is the sign of a sensible popular pragmatism or of a real disillusionment after the change in the political regime.

In present-day Hungary, the system and the basic values of democracy do not represent moral heights any more, since after the downfall of the oppressive communist regime they have become everyday operating principles of society. Nevertheless, the fact that living in a democracy has become an everyday experience does not necessarily mean that these values have become automatically deeply rooted as well, a notion equally true even in the westernmost and wealthiest states. The response of modern mass democracies to this challenge is that they do not leave the fate of democracy to chance, but endeavor to make the teachable elements of democratic life part of the compulsory basic-level education. In light of this, we can conclude that there has never been a more timely undertaking than the effort currently underway to develop the teaching of democracy in Hungary.

The Civitas Association endeavored to summarize its brainstorming sessions, meetings and vision in a publication called *A Jo Polgar (The Good Citizen)* for those who were responsive to the values of democracy as well as for teachers and those in public life showing interest. When discussing democracy, *The Good Citizen* distinguishes between three levels in order to avoid a chaos of concepts and to ensure teachability at school. It is true, however, that these three levels cannot be categorized so strictly in our everyday life, but the fact of *contemplating* them makes a certain differentiation necessary. Consequently, we can distinguish between:

1. the level of *social and political concepts*, re-discussing the mission of democracy day after day;
2. the level of *institutions* which ensure the daily functioning of democracy; and
3. the *knowledge, attitude,* and *skills of citizens* that operate democracy.

Translating this into the traditional language of school education, the *world of concepts* can be identified with philosophy and the history of culture

and civilization, whereas the *world of institutions* can be identified with the theory of society or social sciences. The field of *civic knowledge, attitude* and *civic skills* cannot yet be forced into any existing grouping of school subjects.

The next part of this paper seeks to describe the problems we face in Hungary concerning these three levels, including the issue of their *teachability at schools and universities*. The following paragraphs on concepts, institutions, and attitudes might be interesting for those who are working with post-communist countries in the field of civic education.

The World of Concepts. Our undertaking, which attempts to make the world of concepts consumable for the world of education, has a dual objective. On the one hand, it is essential that Hungarian youth have the opportunity to become familiar with the most important theories in democracy, as well as with the conflicting ideas of these theories. On the other hand, it is essential that the presentation of these great ideas take place on the basis of a *principle of equilibrium* which places special emphasis on the "purifying" and "correcting" function that constant debate and the change in power have on public life.

The accomplishment of this noble undertaking is hindered by several difficulties. The first problem is the narrow-minded material pragmatism of our fellow Hungarians, praised by many Hungarian sociologists, which holds that speaking publicly about the basic issues of social life is to be avoided and disparaged. This narrow-minded practicality, which has its roots in the taboo-laden communist era, enabled the onetime civil society living in discord with the state to breathe freely and protected the slow and careful development of a "petty-bourgeois mentality." By now, this very same practicality has become a stumbling block in trying to find a solution to these problems. Even the press became disabled without a consciously endorsed system of fundamental values. Without relying on such a background, it is impossible to report even on a minor issue. In the most competitive sector of our life, that is the economic arena, this weakness has already been identified, and as a consequence, Hungarian companies are busy issuing mission statements outlining their business philosophies and fundamental values.

Another dilemma is teaching Hungarian traditions within the theories of democracy. As a result of our history, the Hungarian elite democracy of the last century could not be transformed into a modern mass democracy and mass ideologies. Applying Bibo's terminology (Istvan Bibo was an outstanding Hungarian historian of the century), many of the concepts of the "cul-de-sac" era have stayed with us until now. Most of the ideologies we inherited from our ancestors represent discriminative and dividing spheres of thought; an example to be cited here is the unappeasable conflict between the "liberal urban cosmopolitans" and the "rural populists" that

has been going on for decades. As a consequence of all this, we do not possess the elements of a democratic tradition that every one of us can embrace; the ways we think about society *do not have a common denominator.*

Another consequence of the previously mentioned circumstances is that the Hungarian vocabulary of democratic concepts is also fairly unformed and incomplete. What renders this situation even more dangerous is that using this handicap as a weapon, certain trends may gain intellectual hegemony, even if only for a short while, by forcing their own jargon and their own concepts on public speech.

Another challenge is that public speech concerning the features of the social system—perhaps as again a consequence of "time out of joint"—frequently becomes intertwined with the debates searching for national identity. These debates are even more immature than public speech about society. There is no existing interpretation of 20th century Hungarian history, and there is not a well-defined and commonly embraced modern Hungarian identity. As we are lacking a modern Hungarian identity, there is a fair chance that taboo topics and "national values" inaccessible to public speech are created when it comes to interpreting our age. If so, the compulsory values and "holy cows" on display for the young will inevitably become a laughingstock at schools.

The World of Institutions. Teaching about the institutional system of Hungarian democracy is only seemingly easier than teaching about its concepts. It is undoubtedly true that institutions like the Parliament, the Constitutional Court, a free press, human rights watchdogs, or local municipalities can be introduced in a descriptive manner by the methodology of social sciences. But the technique of this presentation raises numerous questions. From the point of view of teaching, the most important issue is how to strike a balance between critical and positive approaches when relating to the institutions of democracy. In other words, is it possible to make people understand why the existence of sometimes corrupt and inefficient institutions is important in a way that civic understanding should not turn into imbecilic acceptance?

The institutional system of Hungarian democracy is very young; in many cases these institutions had to be established, without previous experience or open debates, on the models used in other countries. Quite a few of them are more connected to the slow transformation of the late communist institutions or to modern western models than to the traditions of the Hungarian elite democracy from before the 20th century historical cataclysms.

The majority of democratic institutions are changing. It is of primary importance that this reform-making vehemence so typical of underdeveloped countries is pacified, and that the young understand that the stability and everyday functioning of democratic institutions is a *value* itself. It seems

necessary to follow the examples set by the democracies with the most mature political cultures in the fields of careful experimentation and debate prior to the introduction of reforms and in the matter of refraining from legislative fervor.

A good many Anglo-Saxon representatives of modern political thinking underline the importance of democratic institutions, which they claim create an environment that influences citizens. "Paper constitutions" and institutions offering passive entitlement are unable to awake the spirit of democracy just as an unskilled unemployed person cannot join the capitalist competition. Therefore, an essential duty the system of democratic institutions has to undertake is connected to the *environment*. Are the press, local municipalities or the tax system *motivating* the development of democratic forms of behavior, or on the contrary, are they destroying them?

We can conclude that at present none of our important institutions of democracy is eligible to be an example of a motivating environment for the young open to democratic values. The Parliament much too often simply provides a legal framework for motions made by lobby groups to safeguard certain interests, and all this is carried out in the form of "legislative fervor" leaving no time to discuss essential issues. Jurisdiction has proved to be a poor subject for study: Hungarian courts with continental traditions are not reflective organizations but ones that apply the acts and codes of law prescribed by the state.

The World of Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Skills. The world of civic knowledge, attitudes, and skills is an entity, a "soft" field, which is very difficult to grasp for school education. It means not only knowledge of civil rights but the ability to apply those rights as well. Its teaching is complicated from two points of view: on the one hand it implies civil *techniques* or skills which can only be "radiated," and on the other hand, differently from concepts and institutions which can be taught from books, here the values and forms of behavior young people adopt from the family and home-life strongly predominate.

The basis for these values and forms of behavior adopted at home is provided by the communist-era popular approach, which "understands" the importance of efforts made in one's private life or in the family, deems that it is the orderly world inside the house, the car, and the garden that counts, and holds that the outside world is a mere enemy. It is characterized by a lack of willingness to cooperate, impatience, inability to reach a compromise, the use of simplifications, and public distrust, which stem from the unpredictability of fellow citizens, of institutions, and of a "distributing-plundering" state.

It is here, under these circumstances, that we have to establish the culture of unrestrained dialogue, the "proprietor's consciousness" of democracy.

The question is to what extent the traditional Hungarian schools and universities delivering knowledge from books will be able to conform to the requirements of unrestrained dialogue. It is impossible to comment on cases, values, the truth, or forms of behavior *ex cathedra;* however, at present, school education, overburdened with natural sciences, is operating in this manner. This calls for the revaluation of the teacher's role. The teacher's role in the last century was to be the *model,* whose task was to civilize. In the 1960s, a new role was attributed to the teacher, that of the professional *distributor of knowledge* who dressed in a white lab coat and through measurement and evaluation, became the embodiment of the new test culture. The teacher of today is an *uncertain mediator*: the consensual contents of education have vanished, and the expectations of school users have become diversified. The school of the future will presumably require a kind of partnership relationship where questions can be asked. And for this there is *no* pattern in the tradition of the Hungarian school system.

This is exactly the field where family socialization and patterns set by peer groups strongly influence one's behavior. The role of the school is rather limited, and individual decisions will only be made at a later age, but *by asking questions and discussing the possible answers* we can create something enduring.

Lastly, as far as the field of civic knowledge is concerned, I would like to call attention to two problem areas. One of them is the fact that citizens, among them young people, know very little about laws and rights. Who would dare to claim that a young person is aware of his legal rights concerning the protection of the environment? The second problem is the representation of equilibrium between civic rights and *duties.* This currently rather unpopular opinion holds that it is essential to make people understand the importance of such civic *duties* as paying taxes or participating in elections. The question is whether we can make people understand—in a country where far too many people solely have short-term goals and short-term ideas—that having and using rights without performing duties will bring only ephemeral success, and the rubbish piling up in front of our houses will soon overflow the threshold.

The above-described challenges helped us to create an unusual framework for the university-based curriculum development work.

The Good Citizen: Formulating Our Paradigm

The Civitas Association aimed to establish civic education as part of the regular, university-based teacher training program in the most prestigious Hungarian universities. This aim was ambitious by any standard. We had major considerations to start this ambitious project.

First, we all favored long-term educational investment instead of *ad hoc* training activities. Hungary had a dynamic inservice teacher training market (i.e., short training courses for secondary and primary school teachers) even in the late 1980s. Civic education, in the democratic meaning of the word, didn't exist, but an interesting set of topics (human rights, constitutional studies, basic law, modern history) were already approachable for teachers. Even civic education NGOs were established, mainly with the help of the Soros Foundation. Thus, a short-term approach would have made us just another training NGO. (It is important to state that long-term and short-term doesn't implicate value judgement. In other countries of the region with different historical heritage, focusing on short training activities was probably the right approach.) Our approach, however, was not dogmatic. Occasional training courses were part of the Civitas portfolio, if not the central one. On the other hand, we wanted to avoid the academization of civics. We resisted and still resist the delegation of civic education to a single academic department (history and law were the most eager applicants). We still consider civic education as a broadly interdisciplinary area with strong ties to practice (community life).

Second, Hungary at that time went through a feverish period of structural reforms in all spheres of life. In the years of democratization all traditional authorities were challenged, and every innovation seemed to be possible. The Civitas Association had a pool of educational experts who could use their professional reputation to stimulate co-operation between schools and universities.

Third, having formulated our civic education paradigm, we differentiated civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Having evaluated the capacities of the Hungarian educational system, we identified the soft areas (skills and attitudes) the most critical areas of development. (See Table 11.1.) Consequently, our publications, standards, and curricula emphasize skill and attitude development in civics. It is important to note that this approach was not an easily acceptable and understandable one for all.

Having analyzed the potential failures of civic education teaching, we pinpointed the obstacles shown in Table 11.2.

Here we have found that a passive, knowledge-based learning process can hardly help the students to turn knowledge into practice, or to apply individual skills within a community framework. The hegemonic civic education paradigms (emphasizing human rights, tolerance, empathy, and multiculturalism) in Europe emphasized the horizontal imperatives of civic life. The vertical imperative (i.e., to become a better citizen), however, often remained in the shadows. The Civitas team responsible for the paradigm-formulation aimed to create a more balanced approach to civic education, which is depicted in Table 11.3.

Table 11.1
Civic Attitudes and Skills in the Civitas Standards (An Excerpt)

Principles Guiding Civic Attitudes in Every Modern Mass Democracy:

-inherited property, education or origin does not finally determine the life of an individual
-institutional and party guaranteed opportunities to social development (education, free enterprise, participation in civil organizations) are given
-no unified system of values inherited through traditions exists; the values of an individual are developed and authenticated through his/her way of life
-conflicts of interests, values and life strategies are unavoidable
-the co-operation between citizens must be re-negotiated continuously, which requires constant learning and openness
-the role of a minimal common set of values and that of the language as the means of public discourse are becoming more and more valuable

As a result, the role of the following attitudes and skills is also becoming more valuable:

-patience towards the fuzziness and fallibility of everyday civic matters
-refusal of holistic (Messiah-like, super-rational, etc.) social engineering and practice
-a critical respect of traditional values
-respect for private and social property
-respect for professions and professionalism
-the personal need and technique of acquiring information necessary to individual and social decision making
-the personal need and technique of participating in individual and social decision making
-the possession of a sense of common responsibility by individuals and the decision making elite
-the personal need and technique to analyze costs and benefits in public matters
-the personal need and technique to participate in public talk about fields of politics
-the personal need and skills of setting up democratic practices in small communities
-respecting and following democratic and market rules and institutions
-conscious utilization of the means of social development, such as education and enterprise
-knowledge of the civic culture of public administration
-the skills of planning, analyzing and revising individual strategies of life (life-management)
-the personal need to work out an individual system of values and the utilization of the means to do so
-the skills of representing one's values and interests effectively
-respect for others' ethic values and behavior
-the ability to recognize, confront with and harmonize conflicting interests and values
-the knowledge and utilization of communicational tools necessary to the above

Table 11.2
Potential Obstacles in the Transmission of Civics

KNOWLEDGE	⇨	**PRACTICE**
INDIVIDUAL	⇨	**COMMUNITY**
COMMUNITY	⇨	**SOCIETY**
SOCIETY	⇨	**POLITICS/POLICIES**

Table 11.3

The Vertical Imperative	
Selective acceptance of democratic rules and diversity	Acceptance of democratic rules and diversity
Active participation, self-examination, efforts for self-improvement	Active participation, self-examination, efforts to become a better citizen
The Horizontal Imperative	
Lack of passive acceptance of democratic rules and diversity	Passive acceptance of democratic rules and diversity
Lack of participation, self-examination, and effort for self-improvement	Neglect of participation, self-examination, and effort for self-improvement

Partnership with the Universities

The Civitas Association proposal was well received by the five most prestigious universities of the country. All of them offered preservice teacher-training. (See Table 11.4.) We had developed a resource book, teacher-training standards for civics, and other publications. We supported the creation of university-based teams of academics, small resource centers, and curriculum development. We also supported the actual teaching and the preparation of the documentation for accreditation of the full-fledged major in civics.

Table 11.4
The University-Civitas Partnership

LOCATION	LEVEL OF INTEGRATION	TYPE OF CERTIFICATE	TYPE OF PROGRAM
University of Debrecen	The University Council approved the program on May 31, 1996	Special note in the university level first teacher diploma	Two-semester full-time program for students (300 contact hours
University of Pecs	Both the Faculty of Humanities and the University Council approved the program	Special note in the university level first teacher diploma	Two-semester full-time program for students and for working teachers (300 contract hours)
University of Szeged	The Rector's Council has approved the program	Special note in the university level first teacher diploma	Two-semester full-time program for students (300 contact hours)
University of Miskolc	The Faculty of Humanities have approved the program	Special note in the university level diploma	Two-semester full-time program for students (300 contact hours)
Elte University (Budapest)	The Faculty of Humanities has approved the program	Second university teacher diploma	Four-semester correspondence program for working teachers (300 contact hours) Availavle for all teachers in Hungary (In-service teacher training)

Because of our limited resources and management capacities, the teacher-training colleges were not included as a target group of our project. These are smaller, less prestigious but fairly innovative institutions of teacher training all around Hungary. Interestingly, our publications are widely used in this lower level of teacher training. Many teacher-training colleges (responsible for the training of primary and lower secondary teachers) use Civitas materials. The Eger Teacher Training College even introduced our source book (*The Good Citizen*) as a compulsory text and examination topic for students. We think that in the future, the college-sector offers possibilities for future cooperation.

The Civitas Standards

Standards are the unusual innovation in Hungarian higher education. The Civitas standards were developed primarily for the program's trainers who worked in colleges and universities. Based on the Civitas standards, trainers could alter their usual lectures and workshops to make them "Civitas-compatible." At the same time, the standards of the program also indicated basic requirements for students and helped determine the evaluation

of their performance. At the present stage of the program's development, it would be too early to set up a unified system of performance evaluation, but the principles of this activity need to become more homogeneous.

The standards of the Civitas program constitute a unified system the most characteristic feature of which is the interdisciplinary approach. This means that the concepts of no single discipline can describe the program's contents. This is what makes the project ground-breaking; it attempts to cover the concepts of democratic patterns of public discourse now evolving in the country. This emerging public discourse may bridge over the distance between closed disciplinary and technical languages.

Another characteristic of the standards is that they also contain practice-centered elements. Simultaneously with the reform of teacher-training and the teacher's profession, Civitas experts have paid special regard to working out the standards for civic attitudes and skills as well as designing the elements of methodology. (See Table 11.1.)

As the enforcement of requirements worked out and systematized on a scientific basis is not yet common in the Hungarian practice of curriculum development, let us describe the structure of the standards. This comprises three areas of attainment:

1. knowledge: meaning cognitive acquisition;
2. attitudes: meaning affective acquisition; and
3. skills and abilities: meaning psycho-motoric acquisition

This theoretical statement enters the field of curricular development as Civitas experts, diverging from conventional domestic methods, also put an emphasis on developing civic attitudes and skills. This approach recognized that the Hungarian and continental European education, including teacher training, traditionally centers on knowledge and emphasizes the *ex cathedra* provision of theoretical information. On the areas of information provision, Hungary's backlog does not seem too serious; thanks to the process of educational innovation started a few decades ago and to the booming book market, conventional descriptive material in the fields of sociology, constitutionalism, and political science abounds. Simultaneously, a rediscovery of conservative and liberal Hungarian political traditions has begun. Consequently, an array of excellent works will soon be at the disposal of those researching democratic traditions.

On the other hand, there is a scarcity of material that is not aimed at transferring knowledge. Additionally, the methodology of attitude, skill, and ability development also seems incomplete. The emphasis on elements of attitude and skill postulates a clear distinction of elements of the process of learning. According to the levels and activities of acquisition, this can be divided as follows in Table 11.5 (the verb list describing activities provides only a few examples to explain the levels' content).

Table 11.5

KNOWLEDGE	
LEVELS OF ACQUISITION	**ACTIVITIES OF ACQUISITION**
ACQUAINTANCE	to name, distinguish, indicate, list, select
UNDERSTANDING	to determine, describe, defend, demonstrate, tell, complete, generalize
APPLICATION	to alter, calculate, modify, solve
ANALYSIS	to divide, break down
SYNTHESIS	to group, conclude, combine, plan restructure, prove
EVALUATION	to express one's opinion, appraise, compare, criticize

SKILLS AND ABILITIES	
LEVELS OF ACQUISITION	**ACTIVITIES OF ACQUISITION**
PREPARATION	to listen, be willing
OBSERVATION	to orientate, see, follow, read
IMITATION	to follow instructions, try
PRACTICE	to get used to, to act continuously
ACQUISITION	to plan, act independently, create

ATTITUDES	
LEVELS OF ACQUISITION	**ACTIVITIES OF ACQUISITION**
KNOWLEDGE OF VALUES	to record, follow, divide
POSITIVE REACTION, REFUSAL	to answer, help, fulfill, ask, discuss, learn
ACCEPTANCE OF VALUES	to observe, ask, follow, find, choose
INTERIORIZATION	to match, alter, blend, organize
EXTERIORIZATION	to follow, practice, influence, divide, initiate, recommend

The Curriculum

Curriculum Development: Combining Local Resources with Common Standards. On the basis of the standards, the five universities were able to assess the actual resources and deficiencies of their teaching capacity (areas of study, staff, library, time). Once they made their self-evaluation, a

compromise-building process was initiated by local coordinators who invited the best teachers with the most appropriate seminars and lectures to join the program. In order to ensure our philosophy, we established some guiding principles to regulate the bargaining process:

1. the Civitas curriculum can only accept new or modified courses; no "old or existing" seminars or lectures were allowed;
2. accepted courses should have an interdisciplinary character; and
3. the proportions of the various curricular elements set by the Civitas Standards should be implemented.

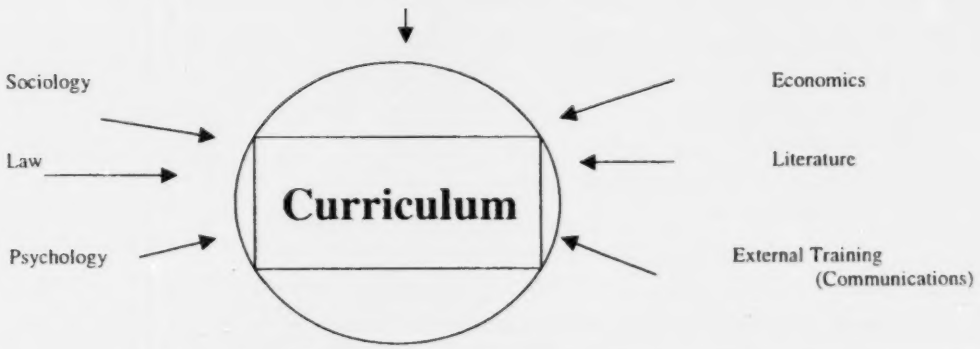
The Components and Internal Cycles of the Civitas Basket. The composition of the "Civitas Basket" (see Figure 11.1) has the structural approach of *The Good Citizen* and the Civitas Standards as its starting point: it is not the scientific disciplines that provide the basis of the curriculum, but an interdisciplinary standard which encompasses teaching "theoretical" subjects and training of skills preparing the students to "actively influence their world." The training process also endeavors to achieve the ultimate goal of this undertaking: trainers are to lead teachers through stages from the cognitive understanding of the fundamental issues and the conflicts of democracy (along with the reflection on them) to the tackling of democratic problems, and teachers are to do the same in relation to students. Furthermore the internal structure of the curriculum is made up of the following three large module packages:

- *Foundation module package*—theoretical grounding with key concepts and a minimum list of compulsory readings;
- *Practical module package*—training courses and "field practice" with assignments and skills to be learned;
- *Methodological module package*—teaching methodologies, curriculum and syllabus development, and teaching practice with key concepts, a minimum list of compulsory readings and assignments.

Each module package represents a closed unit of the training process, and when completed, awards a certain number of credits. The contents of the module packages consist of existing lectures and seminars in accordance with their requirements. The duration of each module package depends on the number of lectures and seminars to be accredited, however it seems worthwhile to keep it at approximately 40 contact hours. It is the task of the workshops to define the duration of each of the module packages consist of existing lectures and seminars in accordance with their requirements. The duration of each module package depends on the number of lectures and seminars to be accredited, however it seems worthwhile to keep it at approximately 40 contact hours. It is the task of the workshops to define the duration of each module package; without doing this the Association will be unable to draw up the budget for next year's training.

Another important issue is the prerequisite structure of the modules. Since, at present, modules represent only a framework we cannot define a detailed prerequisite system, therefore the contents of the modules are to be specified so that the modules can be studied in "packages." The following division makes it possible, providing that it is not the internal prerequisite structure of each package (foundation, practical, methodological) that is strictly regulated, but the prerequisite system between them. The specification of this is also to be done at workshops.

Figure 11.1
The Civitas Basket



Foundation Modules (A). Foundation modules direct the students – university students as well as trainee teachers – through the fundamental issues of democracy, from the traditions to the skills. Later, during the practical and methodological modules, students will apply this theoretical knowledge in practice. So, the majority of the modules offer knowledge at the macro level, and it will be the task of the "civic skills" module to present the micro-system of democracy and the role of individual skills by teaching the necessary basics (e.g., economics, entrepreneurship, foundation of civil organizations, etc.).

Consequently, the foundation modules, which follow the structural approach of *The Good Citizen*, can be divided into three large groups:

- History of democratic traditions and values:
  - A1 - Historical background (7.5 credits)
  - A2 - Traditions (7.5 credits)
- The structure and functioning of democratic institutions, presentation of different fields of politics:
  - A3 - Institutions of democracy (7.5 credits)
  - A4 - Hungarian constitutional law (7.5 credits)
  - A5 - Fields of politics (7.5 credits)

- Democratic civic skills:
  A6 - Civic skills (15 credits)
  (double duration is recommended)

It is the foundation modules that can most appropriately follow the practice of present-day higher educational training. The above-described three areas define the basis upon which the related curricular modules can be built. This, following the subject-based division of the existing university models, consists of the following subject-based topics:

- *The history of democratic traditions and values* – the primary sources of accrediting lectures, seminars and other practical courses into the modules are history, sociology, philosophy, political sciences, history of civilization and economics.
- *The structure and functioning of democratic institutions, the different fields of politics*—the lectures, seminars and other practical courses to be accredited primarily come from subjects like history, sociology, philosophy, political sciences, law, constitutional law, theory of the state and economics.
- *Democratic civic skills*—this is a rather poorly represented field in present-day higher-educational training. The primary sources of accrediting lectures, seminars and other practical courses into its modules are ethics, communication, psychology, socio-psychology, sociography, sociology and political sciences.

Practical Modules (B). Practical modules instruct preservice teachers how to meet the communication challenges in a modern society. Along with this, students are exposed to the everyday problems of operating a democracy by examining the different "fields" of democracy, such as decision making, jurisdiction, economy, or the civil sector. The first module, "civil attitudes," aims to introduce socio-psychological and behavioral qualities needed for an active civil existence, and also tries to offer ways of achieving these qualities from self-management through important skills. Lastly, "training in communication" attempts to develop the communication skills of young people living in today's "information society."

Further preparation is supported by professional "training periods" adapted to the curriculum of theoretical training. Actual locality here may be the institutions of local politics, courts, or different civil organizations (e.g., visiting civil debating groups with the help of the Civitas-Circle network). Other important issues are economics, entrepreneurship, and the labor market; therefore visits to economic organizations and the issue of problem-solving have to be incorporated into the list of practical modules by all means.

Consequently, the practical modules are the following:

B1 - Civil attitudes	(7.5 credits)
B2 - Training communication	(7.5 credits)
B3 - Actual training practice	(22.5 credits)

Methodological Modules (C). Summarizing the practical stage of the training program, it comprises special training and practice sessions in communication, methodological, theoretical training, and observation and teaching practice. As part of the methodological training, students analyze and develop curricula, syllabi, and lesson plans; they practice teaching and test their new teaching skills.

Since this program is open to all types of methodological trends, we hope that by the end of the third cycle, a great number of curricula will have been developed based on different methodologies. The Civitas Association plans to establish a data bank containing all the developed and tested curricula, which will be placed at the disposal of local municipalities and schools that are interested.

Consequently, the methodological modules are the following:

C1 - Methods of Teaching	(15 credits)
C2 - Curriculum development	(7.5 credits)
C3 - Teaching practice	(7.5 credits)

After completing all the credits the student will be entitled to take a final exam, the requirements of which will be set based on the modular requirements. The final assignment of numerical values to credits is also to be carried out at workshops. A *total credit value of 120 points* is recommended, so the modules would have the point values indicated in the brackets above.

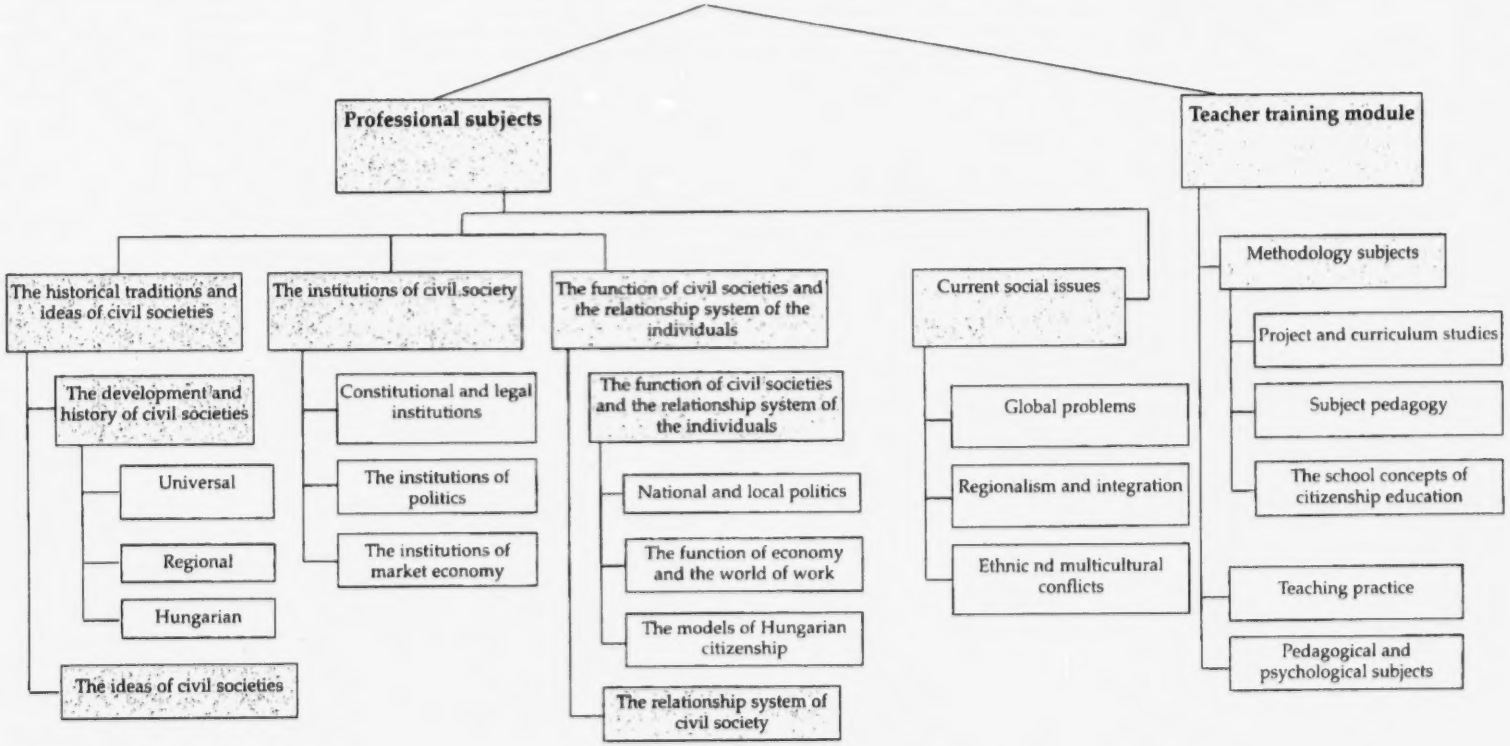
In order to provide detailed information, I have attached the Civitas curriculum of Szeged University. See Figure 11.2.

The Civitas Teachers' Clubs

The idea to establish a loose organizational network for high school teachers who are or are to be connected to the activities of the Civitas Association in general and the teacher-training project in particular came up in the summer of 1995. Several teachers had personal links with members of either the Budapest main office or the respective regional coordinators of the Association and this served as a starting point for recruiting members of the Club.

One immediate reason for creating the club was the need to establish training sites for the first graduates of the *Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills* program (spring of 1997). This required a minimum of 2-3 training schools per training sites (i.e., a total of 10-15 high schools in Hungary). The number is likely to increase as the university diploma program becomes more attractive and well known to students.

Figure 11.2
The Study Areas of the "Civic Skills and Studies" University Major Program at Szeged University


Professional subjects
Teacher training module
The historical traditions and ideas of civil societies
The institutions of civil society
The function of civil societies and the relationship system of the individuals
Current social issues
Methodology subjects
The development and history of civil societies
Universal
Regional
Hungarian
The ideas of civil societies
Constitutional and legal institutions
The institutions of politics
The institutions of market economy
The function of civil societies and the relationship system of the individuals
National and local politics
The function of economy and the world of work
The models of Hungarian citizenship
The relationship system of civil society
Global problems
Regionalism and integration
Ethnic nd multicultural conflicts
Project and curriculum studies
Subject pedagogy
The school concepts of citizenship education
Teaching practice
Pedagogical and psychological subjects

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The Teachers' Club worked according to an annual work plan. The scope of activities was rather traditional: invited presentations, methodological workshops, and meetings.

Lessons Learned

Civic Education as a Social Policy Issue. Our project was not started in a social vacuum, and the importance of our work was perceived in different ways in the different periods of work. The Civitas-team had a rather critical opinion on the evolution of democracy in Hungary; thus we considered civic education a major issue. All the important supporters of our project (including the President of the Republic and the Mayor of Budapest) declared the same approach.

In reality, however, democratic institutions were built on the basis (the so-called democratic roundtable) of a historical compromise between the democratic forces and the reform-minded communists. This reasonable and peaceful transition provided an admirable smoothness and rapidity on a macropolitical level. From the point of civic education, however, the historical compromise excluded the possibility of deep self-examination of public consciousness and wider social learning. In other words, the more consolidated Hungarian democracy became, the less importance civic education carried for potential partners. In the future, we aim to develop our civic education topics from the ground level. Local communities don't depend on macropolitical compromises; their sensitivity to democratic issues might be more constant.

Universities as Co-operating Partners. Although the approached universities were open-minded and useful partners in the project implementation, in the long-term, the NGO-university relationship became more complex. The Civitas idea of university-based curriculum development was a combination of our standards and the teamwork of the interested academic departments. It worked excellently. As a result, we had four university-based teacher training curricula in civics and the teams of teachers (academics).

In the long-term, however, a small NGO cannot maintain pilot projects in universities. It is also difficult for leaders of NGOs to administer and coordinate groups of academics living in the world of academic autonomy. We, like the Soros Foundation and other supporting and developing agencies, faced the problem of institutionalization. Here we had some good results; our project was institutionalized on the highest curricular level directly dependent on the universities. In all the four universities (with the exception of Budapest), the Civitas program was established as a minor program. The establishment of a university-based major depends on the final decision

of the Hungarian National Accreditation Committee. This decision is part of the national curriculum policy, thus not easily approachable by universities.

Although we enjoyed the support of the top management in all the five universities, the performance of the teaching and curricula-developing teams were different indeed. The ELTE University (Budapest) considered us as useful supporters of their own innovations. The universities in Miskolc and Pecs integrated the project into their regular minor programs. The universities in Debrecen and Szeged showed real understanding and long-term commitment; they took a decisive role in the preparation of the accreditation documentation of the major program. Furthermore, on the basis of their accumulated experience in the pilot, the Civitas team of Szeged is very active with civic education NGOs in the Balkans. One of our Civitas teachers (an assistant professor) in Debrecen prepared his PhD on civic education in teacher training.

The most important tool to stabilize the professional co-operation of our small NGO and the universities was the development of standards for teacher training in civics. Standards created a framework for negotiation on the curricular structures, teaching hours, and disciplinary representation of the various university programs.

Civic Education in Academia. In the period we started our pilot projects, only one of the four universities offered an interdisciplinary or cross-departmental program, European Studies. Its acceptance, popularity and academic integration showed close correlation with our program in civic education.

An important lesson from our early years deals with the role of academic traditions. The Civitas standards, the joint curricula, and the interdisciplinary academic teams were accepted relatively easily. The relative ease in the development of the "Civitas-baskets" (four university-based curricula along the lines of the Civitas-standards) was the most successful element of our project. There were always reactions, however, to share the teaching hours along disciplinary borderlines and organizational pressures. These tendencies never challenged the concept of an interdisciplinary curriculum, but they tended to simplify the registration and administration of the program. Academic routine (at least in Hungary) works along departmental structure, based on disciplinary fields. Academics are good partners in innovation, but their core activities (teaching, research, and scholarship) and daily routines are often organized in a traditional way.

Another interesting (and rather problematic) finding of the project's implementation was the universities' weak capacity to provide non-traditional ways of learning. As a part of our Civitas Standards, we strictly demanded the provision of community service and intensive training for our students. According to our experience, Civitas was one of the first programs in these

universities in which modern ways of learning were compulsory elements of the curriculum. Consequently, in most participating universities, training (communication, problem-solving, etc.) were provided by contracted external persons, outside of the universities. Community service (working in a local public institution and writing an essay on a related public issue) was unusual too, but all the university-based Civitas centers were able to cope with this challenge.

East-West Dialogue. Participating in the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) "Teacher-training in Constitutionalism Project," we had access to the rich and long-standing American experience of civic education. ACLS provided us resources, field visits, training course on teaching methods, and useful publications. We also had an opportunity to work together with outstanding American colleagues. On the basis of our experience, we can state that civic education is (and should be) an international issue, where the exchange of ideas and experiences is not a luxury, but a necessary part of the work.

In the course of our project, we proudly and consciously represented the "American line" of international co-operation. Currently, Europe (including Western Europe) lacks a coherent vision on civic education. Instead of this, Western European support programs (Council of Europe, PHARE, etc.) and the Soros Foundation emphasized fragmented issues of democratic life (human rights, minorities, anti-racism, inter-ethnic tolerance) often with a touch of leftist-liberal political activism. In the American treasury of civics, we found the above-mentioned valuable issues complemented with other topics like the role of civic duties and virtues, and local communities in the building of democracy.

With ACLS support, we tried to bring some new ideas to the common basket of the project. Here we would mention two issues. The first issue is the differentiation and prioritization of the development areas of civic education on the basis of evaluation of social needs in the relevant country. The second issue is the need to bind modern civic education activities to the social history of Hungary.

East-East Dialogue. In the course of the project implementation, we found good colleagues and true friends in the other Central and Eastern European NGOs and institutions. Their different approaches were our sources of inspiration and sometimes, even admiration. In the period when the ACLS "Teacher-training in Constitutionalism Project" was carried out, our organizations had no capacities to build up a long-term regional co-operation in civic education.

In the future, however, a Central and Eastern European co-operation seems to be the most reasonable way to develop civic education in the region. We firmly believe that our shared experiences can have an added value in the framework of the European Union as well.

The Role of Dissemination. In the long-term, the role of educational investments is strongly determined by the capacity of the innovators to disseminate the results. In the future, we will put more emphasis on the issue of university-based resource centers. Resource-centers can open a more professional way of learning for working teachers, and they also strengthen the links between schools and universities. On the basis of adequate civic education resources, more experienced teachers can do the job of local dissemination. Needless to say, schools prefer the way of horizontal learning, when working teachers train other working teachers. In this framework, universities can play the role of professional supporters and resource providers.

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Civic Learning in Teacher Education through an American-Indonesian Partnership

Margaret Sutton, Isnarmi Moeis, and Wendy Gaylord

Indonesia has the fourth largest population in the world and as an archipelagic nation with thousands of islands stretching from Singapore to Australia, it presents great challenges in the form of its diversity of ethnic groups, cultures, languages, religions, and geographical location. Under the control of President Suharto for 31 years until 1998, the country is experiencing a period of reform and uncertainty as a result of the Asian economic crisis coupled with political instability after the resignation of Suharto. The recent acts of violence by small extremist groups further challenge Indonesia's state and citizens to move forward with democratic reforms.

Since the major political changes that took place in 1998, the nation has been undergoing a democratizing process in all aspects of public life, known in Indonesia as "Reformasi." Significant among these is the reform of the centralized 1994 K-12 curriculum in all subject areas. New curriculum was piloted in the 2001-2002 school year. Prior to 2001, all K-12 curriculum was formulated at the central Ministry of National Education (MONE) and provided a detailed scope and sequence of lesson plans. By contrast, the new curriculum is characterized by national standards to be elaborated by local educators. Thus, the standards movement in Indonesia promises higher levels of teacher autonomy and local curricular control than what has historically existed. Not only is the content changing to encompass democratic ideals, but the form itself is intended to be one dimension of the democratization of Indonesian education. This is the context in which the civic education curriculum is being reformed.

Nationwide diffusion of the new K-12 curriculum can be expected to take place over the next few years. However, the introduction of the new

curriculum has yet to be accompanied by wide-scale changes in teacher education. In all curricular reforms, such a mismatch between teacher education and new curriculum raises significant questions. In the case of the democratization of civic education, these questions grow in importance. At stake is not only the mastery of cognitive civic knowledge, or what Patrick (1999, 45) calls "intellectual capital for the engaged citizen," but also the learning of new participatory civic skills and dispositions, or "the social capital" for engaged citizenship (Patrick 1999, 50) that supports effective citizenship in a democracy.

Clearly, teachers play a critical role in fostering this new learning. However, in Indonesia as elsewhere, the education of teachers in new forms of intellectual and social capital for engaged citizenship is not taking place with the same speed and depth as the curricular reforms that they are meant to implement. The primary purpose of the project described in this chapter is to make some inroads into the process of supporting the changed needs of Indonesia's teacher educators to enhance the democratic knowledge and skills of the national teaching force. The project, "Partnership in Civic and Multicultural Teacher Education between Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia and the School of Education at Indiana University," is an institutional linkage project supported by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State. It supports collaboration between the School of Education at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) and the department of Civic Education at the State University of Padang (UNP). Now in its third year, this project exposes faculty of UNP to knowledge and methods of democratic civic education in order to contribute to the process underway at UNP in support of reformed civic education. At the same time, it exposes IUB faculty and students to these processes, thus widening their knowledge of the complex processes and struggles underlying the democratization of civic education in post-authoritarian societies.

This paper will analyze the current status of teacher education in civic education in Indonesia. We begin with background on Indonesian civic education and recent changes to it. This is followed by a discussion of teacher education for civic education, which leads us to identify specific issues of concern. Finally, we will discuss international cooperative efforts underway to support the democratization of Indonesian teacher education in civic education.

Overview of Indonesian Civic Education

Civic education as a school subject has been in the curriculum since the national education system began in the 1950s. The Indonesian education system includes many more subjects, up to 12 or more, than in the U.S., and they are therefore taught over a longer period of time in small amounts.

Civic education is compulsory for all students for all 12 years of school and for one year at the tertiary level. The content has changed over the years, but the aim has always been nation-building through the development of loyal citizens, and the aim of national history has always been to create patriots. Particularly in the 1980s, the focus became strongly anti-communist and portrayed the military as saviors in the curriculum. Until recently, the curriculum has been centralized, with one national K-12 curriculum that has been revised in 1975, 1984, 1994, and 2002.

The content of the civic education can be found in two main courses in primary and middle school in the 1970s and 1980s:

1) PMP/PPKN or Pancasila Moral Education or Pancasila and Citizenship Education, presenting the philosophical basis of the nation and the moral principles that all Indonesian citizens should live by. The content of this course is a normative set of values that are presented for the students to make them good citizens. In 1999 the course was revised by eliminating some of the lessons.
2) PSPB, the History of the National Struggle, a history course encouraging patriotism through a focus on the heroes and events of the struggle for independence. This is a very interesting course as it looks at 300 years of national history as a continuous struggle of the state against enemies-first, externally, the Dutch colonizers, and then, internally, the communists and regional separatists (van Klinken 2002). This course was discontinued in 1999 in the aftermath of Suharto's resignation.

Other K-9 courses with a heavy civic education content include Social Studies (IPS) and National History.

At the senior secondary level streaming takes place, with students going into vocational/technical or general academic schools. Within the academic schools there are math/science, humanities and social science streams. However, all students take a common core of Indonesian language, religion, Pancasila/PMP, and history.

Changes in the 2002 curriculum include decentralization of the authority for curriculum content to the district (i.e., below the province level). The national curriculum now comprises standards, similar to the national framework or state standards in the United States of America, that are to be elaborated locally to suit the diverse conditions and regions of the country.

Issues with these changes include the amount of autonomy teachers will have, the availability of textbooks (will the textbook companies determine the content in a *de facto* manner?), testing, and support for teachers from the Ministry of National Education. Changes in the content of civic education include the elimination of some clearly ideological lessons, such as those considered to be promoting militaristic and unthinking actions. For example, the topics of *ketaatan* (obedience) and *rela berkorban* (willingness to sacrifice)

have already been eliminated in the 1999 revisions. Other changes in the new curriculum are the inclusion of topics related to human rights and democracy and development of the skills for participation in democracy.

A critical issue for the new curriculum is the changing state of the Indonesian political, social, and economic context. The Constitution is in the process of being amended, the court system is widely discredited, and the Asian economic crisis has caused many people to grasp for any financial gains they can find through legal and extralegal channels. With a suddenly free press after 1998, these changes are not going unnoticed.

Power is in the hands of the rich and the military continues to have great influence despite the election of a non-military president. Regional autonomy is both exacerbating and ameliorating some of the problems as local officials struggle to establish their authority. The change from brutal denial of the possibility of conflict and disagreement in society for the sake of national unity to acceptance and learning to deal with it is a difficult process that is now underway. Moreover, acts of violence by small extremist groups, including the bombing of churches on Christmas Eve 2001 and the recent bombings in Bali and Manado, both communities of religious minorities, are testing the climate of religious tolerance that has characterized the Indonesian nation and culture.

In the post-1998 period of reform teachers have been accused of lying to students; they have requested evacuation from places such as East Timor (now an independent nation) and Papua (or Irian Jaya) because the national history did not include their own histories, and a critical reaction to the content of the history and civic education courses has given rise to public debate. Suddenly, multiculturalism is important. Unlike the past, when race, religion, and ethnicity were taboo subjects, they are not critical issues. Indonesian teachers, particularly teachers of civics, want and need support to develop their own competence to facilitate discussions of potentially divisive social issues such as these.

Teacher Education for Civic Education

In Indonesia, teacher education has been conducted by Teacher Training Institutes or IKIPs, of which there were 27 in the early 1990s, spread throughout the provinces, and holding the status of other four-year colleges and universities. With Reformasi have come changes in the university system, including the transformation of some IKIPs from an exclusive focus on teacher education to a mandate to offer college level studies in other areas, or in other words, to become universities. This change responds to social demands for wider access to higher education. For the IKIP Padang, like others such as the IKIPs in Bandung and Jakarta, the expansion of authority to teach subjects other than education has led to a renaming of

the institution itself. Thus, the IKIP Padang is now named Universitas Negeri Padang (UNP) or Padang State University. In addition to the faculty of education, UNP now encompasses faculties of language, literature and art; social sciences; math and natural sciences; technology; and sports. Within this structure, teacher preparation in civic education takes place in the department of civic education of the Faculty of Social Sciences. All teacher education students are required to take a basic course in civic education. In addition, a teacher preparing to specialize in civic education at UNP will receive courses from three divisions of the university: the general studies division, the division of education sciences, and the department of civic education, within the division of social sciences. Approximately 70 percent of courses are in the student's specialty, such as civic education, with 30 percent drawn from other fields.

Teacher educators in Indonesia are currently operating under interim guidelines from the MONE, while teachers in the schools are teaching from the 1999 revision of the 1994 curriculum. For in-service civics teachers, this encompasses directives to eliminate the most ideologically biased lessons in the old civic education curriculum. Teacher educators, in reaction to this revision, have adapted aspects of their programs. All of the interim changes are technical in nature. Changes have taken place in such courses as micro-teaching, evaluation, and lesson planning. In 2001, a new directive to teacher educators foreshadowed the changes to come. PK 232/2001 emphasizes competency-based education. It also stipulates that 60 percent of the content of teacher education programs will be developed by the universities, a radical departure from historical practice. All subjects are to be developed under the core standards that are issued by MONE. The new core standard is Decree No. 232-2001 by MONE. The basis on which faculty at UNP and elsewhere will develop new curricula in civic education is the new K-12 Curriculum for Civic Education, which, as noted above, is still in the process of being finalized.

Further directives will be issued by MONE once the new curriculum has been finalized. At present, the possible character of these directives is murky. One major unknown is how much focus will be placed on pedagogy, a crucial factor in changing civic education for democratic citizenship. In addition, it is likely that teacher education institutions will be in a reactive position. That is, having little or no input into the design of the curriculum, teacher educators will be required to develop appropriate material to prepare teachers for teaching it.

To anticipate the development of the new K-12 curriculum, there has been a workshop for developing new curriculum at the UNP Civic Education Department. It focused on changing the subject matter of UNP civic education courses to meet the needs of the new curriculum, particularly in regard to

the development of a competency-based curriculum for the Civic Education teacher education department rather than on theory.

Critical Issues in Teacher Education for Civic Education

As the discussions above have indicated, this is a period of transformation for civic education in Indonesia, in form, content, goals, and methods, with a great deal of uncertainty surrounding the specifics of these changes. All teachers and teacher educators are faced with the reality of moving towards a new definition of curriculum. As in the United States, a systemic change to standards-based curriculum will call on teachers to approach subjects differently and therefore for teacher education to change in content and method. The mechanisms for curriculum development under this new approach are as yet unclear. Who will develop textbooks and lessons? What input will teachers and educators have in the process? And, like all Indonesians, teachers and teacher educators are grappling on a daily basis with the meaning of democracy and how to promote it in Indonesian society and culture.

For civics teachers, the changes and challenges are acute. For forty years, civics teachers in Indonesia have been charged with conveying fixed ideological messages, including some that clearly conflicted with social reality, such as that economic justice is a foundation of Indonesian society. In the new era of Reformasi, civics teachers are now being asked to promote critical thinking, democratic values and skills, and some level of multicultural awareness. Civics teachers and civics teacher educators alike are grappling with both the "what" and the "how" of the new civic education. On the side of intellectual capital, democratization demands new course content in the preparation of the nation's teachers of civics. It will be necessary for teacher educators to develop course content focused on fundamental concepts of democracy and their application in different contexts. At the same time, teachers and teacher educators in the field of civics realize that teacher methods must change in order to effectively convey this content and even more so, to promote skills of democratic deliberation and dispositions towards engagement in political life.

International Cooperation

Indonesia's efforts to democratize civic education are eliciting interest and support from international agencies. Out-of-school civic education efforts are being supported in the form of voter education, media training, and support for legal reforms by the Asia Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and government aid agencies from the United States of America, Australia, Japan, and the Netherlands.

In schools, the Asia Foundation and the Ford Foundation have supported the Jakarta State Institute of Islamic Studies in its program to develop a one-semester civic education program to promote democratic values (*Chronicle of High Education* 2001) for tertiary level Islamic Institute students, intended to replace the Kewiraan (Military Studies) course that promoted military values and patriotism.

Currently the only internationally supported national effort in public schools is one being undertaken by the MONE in collaboration with the international program of the Center for Civic Education (CCE), funded by USAID, to introduce local adaptations of programs such as *Project Citizen* and *Foundations of Democracy* into middle and elementary schools. Piloted over the past two years, the Indonesian version of *Project Citizen* has been incorporated into the new curriculum as a required extra-curricular component. The elementary level *Foundations of Democracy* was being adapted to fit into the new curriculum framework in late 2002.

For international collaboration in support of democratic civic education to be most effective, it is critical for international actors to understand the wider context of civic education reform, and particularly, the current situation of Indonesia's teachers and the nature of the new demands being made upon them. As this paper has suggested, today's Indonesian teaching force is as yet unprepared for the challenge of supporting democracy through civic education. Like their compatriots, Indonesia's teachers grew up in a context of political repression that stifled critical discussion. Both inservice and preservice teachers in Indonesia need multiple opportunities to explore the meaning of democracy in their own lives, their communities, and their nation. No matter how much curricular content changes in civic education, and the changes may be less than the continuities, Indonesia's civic educators need time and support to collectively rethink the fundamental purposes of civic education. Otherwise, deeply ingrained habits and cultural practices like rote learning of principles are likely to kick in.

And, as noted above, it is not only civic educators but all Indonesian teachers and teacher educators who need such opportunities to reflect critically on the meanings of democracy and its implications for teaching and learning. To take teacher educators first, our analysis shows how important it is that not only those who instruct in the field of civic education, but indeed all teacher educators, must be provided opportunities to deepen their own understandings of democracy in relation to education. As in all subject fields, students aspiring to become teachers of civic education take only a small proportion of their classes in the department of civic education. If it is only through these courses that preservice teachers are encouraged to think about democracy and to implement teaching practices supportive of the development of democratic dispositions, then those lessons are likely

to be swamped by the "standard" messages simply to cover the curriculum and manage the classroom. Thus, we urge international actors in the reform of Indonesian civic education to engage with *all* teacher educators, regardless of their subject specialty.

This engagement includes, in the first place, providing opportunities for critical reflection on the meaning of democracy in society and in education. As we have argued above, it must also go beyond concepts and curricular content to encompass pedagogy. Teaching habits are notoriously resistant to change, but change they must if the Indonesian education system is to make its fullest possible contribution to the realization of democracy in Indonesian society. As leaders in civic education have noted, classroom practices are at least as important in the fostering of democratic dispositions as is the content being covered. Moreover, in the context of change and revitalization currently encompassing education in Indonesia, the time is ripe for wide-scale exposure of teacher educators to innovative teaching techniques. Indonesian teacher educators who specialize in civic education need the support of their colleagues throughout teacher education in modeling democratic and critical pedagogical techniques.

All efforts to adapt external models of civic education to Indonesia must be attentive to the unique history and cultures of Indonesia. Because the authoritarian rule of decades past stifled discussion of conflict and controversy, new techniques may need to be developed for raising and discussing controversial subjects such as multiculturalism. Multiculturalism itself is an example of what is uniquely Indonesian. Foreign-derived models of race and ethnic relations do not readily transfer to Indonesia. What is needed instead is the promotion of local efforts to understand and come to terms with the ethnic diversity of Indonesian society.

The IU-UNP program has begun to address, on a modest scale, some of the needs for reform of teacher education in conjunction with the democratization of civic education. To date, four Indonesian scholars have come to Indiana University for periods from four to ten weeks. Three of the scholars, including one of the authors, come from the Universitas Negeri Padang, and one from MONE. Their projects have included a research proposal for incorporating multiculturalism in civic education (Soemantrie 2001); an overview of civic education approaches in the U.S. (Ananda 2001); an analysis of democratic and critical pedagogy in civic education (Moeis 2001); and an analysis of the potential for conflict resolution approaches to be employed in Indonesian schools (Khadir 2001). These individual projects will be collected, along with other materials, into a handbook for teacher educators concerned with the democratization of education. At the same time, the project has supported workshops for UNP faculty to expose them to the ideas and approaches gleaned by the visiting scholars.

In the summer of 2002, the IU-UNP project supported a two-day workshop for teachers and teacher educators on active pedagogy for promoting skills of democratic deliberation and a one-day international seminar on multiculturalism and democracy in Indonesian education. Both events elicited widespread and enthusiastic participation. They also made clear the efforts that Indonesian teachers and teacher educators are making to come to terms with the democratization of civic education. Participants called for the creation of mechanisms to provide students with more choice over the content of their own education, for more and wider employment of active pedagogies, for experientially based education in the workings of democratic and civil society institutions, and for more emphasis on understanding diverse perspectives on social and political issues.

These activities are already beginning to influence practice in civic education classrooms in West Sumatra (Gaylord 2002). As importantly, the project is being carried forward in a newly democratizing university environment. The most significant indicator of this change, in terms of the project, was the decision this year to place full authority over the project in the hands of the Department of Civic Education, a radical departure from past practices at Indonesian universities, in which all projects are controlled by central administration. In addition, although finances and teaching responsibilities necessarily limit the number of faculty who can directly participate as Visiting Scholars, participation by UNP in this project has drawn this provincial institution into more direct contact with the reforms that are taking place at the level of the central government. This is a direct contribution to the process of widening participation in educational policy making and implementation.

The project has been indirectly hampered by extremist actions in other parts of the nation that have resulted in State Department travel advisories and travel bans at different points in the project, precluding the active participation of many Indiana University faculty as visiting scholars at UNP. Nevertheless, the basic momentum for change and wide-scale participation continues to benefit through the external linkage. For the remainder of the project, emphasis will be placed on engendering university-wide dialogue on democracy and education.

What remains to be seen is whether the critical issues facing Indonesia's democratizing efforts can be overcome by education. Teachers need to be prepared to undertake new tasks that they have never been asked to do before when they were prepared to be loyal civil servants in the service of the state. These include syllabus development from a national framework, management of classrooms for democracy and equity, professional development to promote autonomous, collaborative teaching and learning, and so on. For teachers to effectively address the conflicts in society with its increasingly

ethnic and economic challenges, new skills and knowledge are required. In particular the unique character of Indonesia's diversity and the social conflicts that are very different from those in the U.S. require careful attention by teachers and students alike. International collaborations, in the end, contribute the most when they prescribe the least, serving instead to provide ideas, models, and comparative cases for study by those who ultimately must make the real decisions about what is taught under the rubric of civic education, and how it is taught – Indonesia's teachers and teacher educators.

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Conclusion: Recommendations for Enhanced Civic Learning in Teacher Education

Gregory E. Hamot

A quick glance at the list of participants in the second R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education reveals a broader and more international mix of scholars than indicated by the chapter authors of this book. Each chapter author presented their paper to approximately fifty other participants, fourteen of whom hailed from seven European and Asian countries. All of the attendees gathered in four focus groups. They met each day of The Institute to discuss the paper presentations and to work toward a coherent statement for presentation during the final day of The Institute. On that final day, the focus groups presented their deliberations on the fundamental question addressed by each paper. What sort of social studies teacher preparation is best suited for the development and promotion of civic learning in a democratic society? The following is a descriptive and summative synthesis of the focus groups' recommendations as reported on the last day of The Institute.

The international composition of The Institute made for lively and provocative discussions on how best to educate social studies teachers for a democratic society. Participants from newly independent democracies, in contrast to their American colleagues, raised concerns about the level of their countries' democratic maturity. Democracy as the institutional foundation and way of life in each of these countries exists in a context of uncertainty and skepticism. How, therefore, can the *purpose*, *content*, and *methods* of teacher education for civic learning be universalized or even transferable across national boundaries?

Each focus group agreed that the *purpose* of social studies teacher education, regardless of national context, centered on educating teachers who function as the intellectual leaders of a classroom, where the basic tenets of constitutional democracy function as the content and also inform the educational process. However, some differences among the groups surfaced on the purposes of a constitutional democracy. For instance, the balance, or lack thereof, between individual rights and the common good became an issue in several groups.

One focus group concluded that "engaged citizens, according to Pat Avery [Chapter 3], take a position of self-interest, and self-interest can be divisive. We believe that the common good is what newly emerging democracies have in mind, rather than a focus on self-interest." In contrast, another group saw this tension between individual self-interest and the common good as definitional. They noted that "Tocqueville's meaningful phrase, 'self-interest rightly understood,' serves as a reminder that it is personal selfishness, rather than individual rights, that is in tension with the common good."

Such internal differences on the constitutional underpinnings of democratic citizenship did not prevent each focus group from endorsing in some fashion the conceptual framework for the common education of democratic citizens forwarded by John J. Patrick in Chapter 1. This framework gave each group a starting point for recommendations on both the content of and methods to use in a civically oriented preservice social studies teacher education course.

The knowledge component of Patrick's framework served as a base from which each group developed the *content* of a preservice course for social studies teachers. The exigencies of mandated curricula usually result in discipline-based and compartmentalized teacher education programs. However, a teacher education course in social studies need not abandon its purpose to educate teachers for civic learning in exchange for what Jerome S. Bruner (1960) termed the "structure of the disciplines." These two foci are not mutually exclusive, nor is the education of teachers a zero-sum game. As one focus group stated, civic learning in social studies teacher education "will develop students' pedagogical content knowledge in the social studies disciplines of history, geography, political science, and economics by using the overarching themes of democracy and civic education as the lens through which to view these content areas." Patrick's framework served these groups as their "lens." A specific example of democratic themes wedded to content is Margaret Stimmann Branson's explication of the "nexus" between civic and economic education found in Chapter 4.

Similarly, the need for preservice teachers to understand the demands of citizenship in a constitutional democracy begs the acquisition of an indispensable knowledge base. One focus group believed that probing preservice students' beliefs on the nature of the ideal democratic citizen required each student to have a basic understanding of political philosophy:

> A fundamental part of teacher preparation, then, should be creating the opportunities for future teachers to seriously reflect upon the tenets of political philosophy, not as a political philosophy *per se*, but as *applied* political philosophy, that is, political philosophy as it relates to the demands of civic life experienced by citizens. Future teachers should have a thorough knowledge of the political principles that shape a shared civic life and they should appreciate the complexities and inherent tensions contained within the liberal democratic tradition.

This knowledge base, however, may not exist in the coursework preservice students experience in their liberal arts curricula. Consequently, as another focus group recommended, social studies teacher educators will need to develop lessons that center on a particular aspect of civic learning either as an enhancement to students' existing content knowledge, or as a remedial approach to building that knowledge.

If the constitutional democratic tradition forms the purpose and content of civic education, then how does this same political philosophy influence teaching *methods*? Here, the focus groups agreed on the common sense approach to teacher education based on modeling. In other words, one way to learn how to teach well is to experience learning knowledge, skills, and dispositions through the best teaching methods. Invariably, the focus groups agreed that reflection, or the act of turning something over in one's mind and testing it with the best available evidence, and deliberation, or decision making through the discussion of problems that are common to a disparate group of people, served best in the preparation of social studies teachers to be civic educators. These foundational methods are elaborated in chapters by Patricia G. Avery, Jeffrey W. Cornett and Janos Setenyi, Gregory E. Hamot, and Walter C. Parker, and they help students to develop Patrick's intellectual and participatory skills as noted in his framework from Chapter 1. Recommended teaching strategies for civic learning that fall under reflection and deliberation included programs such as *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution*, analysis of primary source documents such as Supreme Court cases, simulations and role plays such as those found in *History Alive!*, current issues curricula such as those published by the Southern Poverty Law Center, and Socratic seminars.

Every focus group emphasized the need for civic engagement as a method to promote civic learning. The recommendations laid forth by the groups and noted in the previous paragraph bring the civically oriented social studies curriculum to life via student engagement and activity.

Based on their deliberations over the course of The Institute, the focus groups' recommendations on the sort of social studies teacher preparation best suited for the development and promotion of civic learning in a democratic society resulted overall in a unified purpose, focused content, and democratically oriented methods. Their recommendations, however, do not purport to be a panacea for the concern over citizenship development in this or any democracy. For instance, one focus group reminded us that preservice teachers want to infuse their curricula with civic learning, but their "thinness" of commitment faces many challenges, especially during the first years of teaching. These challenges include practical concerns over classroom management, an uncertainty of content, and democratically antithetical practices at their field experience sites that result in an erosion

of or amnesia about their role as civic educators.

Our mission as teacher educators, regardless of our democracy's national context, is to ease the transition from theory learned in college classrooms to actual schoolhouse practice by strengthening the bond between democratic principles and civic learning in the minds of our preservice teachers. One clearly evident recommendation that came through in each focus group's final report (and that addressed this mission) is the need for social studies teacher educators to fuse constitutional democratic theory with practical applications that give life to these ideas. In so doing, we can give our preservice students a sense of the content, process, and especially the purpose of social studies education in a democratic society by instilling within them the confidence to fulfill their mission as the most critically important teachers within their schools, within their professional ranks, and especially within their societies.

When he opened the inaugural Institute in 2001, R. Freeman Butts clarified our charge in one of his four propositions that underpins the need for civic learning in teacher education:

> Since the quality and training of teachers are the most important elements in achieving any educational goal in elementary and secondary schools, it is incumbent that the civic learning of prospective social studies teachers should be at the core of the preparation they undergo in their teacher education programs. (Butts 2001, 5)

The refinement of our mission, based on the recommendations of the 2002 Institute attendees and Professor Butts' timeless proposition, should continue to challenge civic educators.

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Appendix

Participants in the 2002 R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education

The individuals listed below were participants in the R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, which met in Indianapolis, Indiana from May 17-21, 2002. This meeting was sponsored by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California and conducted by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington.

Ernest Abisellan
The Florida Law-Related Education Association
Tallahassee, Florida

Patricia G. Avery
College of Education and Human Development
The University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Sandy Baker
Elliott Elementary School
Munster, Indiana

Margaret Stimmann Branson
Associate Director
Center for Civic Education
Calabasas, California

Joseph Braun
Department of Curriculum & Instruction
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois

Susie Burroughs
Department of Curriculum & Instruction
Mississippi State University
Mississippi State, Mississippi

Regimantas Ciupaila
Social Education Department
Vilnius Pedagogical University
Public Administration Department
Lithuanian University of Law
Vilnius, Lithuania

Jeffrey W. Cornett
Department of Educational
Research, Technology &
Leadership
The University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Alden Craddock
Division of Teaching and Learning
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

Frederick Drake
Department of History
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois

Sarah Drake
Social Studies Development
Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Meelis Eerik
Academy of Nord;
Defence Academy
Tallinn, Estonia

Beth Farnbach
Associate Director of
International Programs
Center for Civic Education
Calabasas, California

Patton Feichter
North Park University
Elk Grove, Illinois

Wendy Gaylord
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Jozsef Gombos
Department of Applied Social
Studies
Szeged University
Szeged, Hungary

Gerardo Gonzalez
Dean, School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Robert Gutierrez
Department of Middle and
Secondary Education
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Klara Hallik
Senior Fellow, Institute for
International and Social Studies
Tallinn Pedagogical University
Tallinn, Estonia

Gregory E. Hamot
College of Education
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Stan Harris
Castle High School
Newburgh, Indiana

Janet Hunter
Director, Indiana Program for
Law-Related Education of the
Social Studies Development
Center
Bloomington, Indiana

Tak-Jun Jung
Social Studies Development Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Richard Katula
Department of Communication Studies
Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts

Peter Kavouras
West Carrollton High School
West Carrollton, Ohio

Rita Maria Kiss
Department of Applied Social Studies
Szeged University
Szeged, Hungary

Giedre Kvieskiene
Vilnius Pedagogical University
Lithuanian College of Democracy
Social Education Department
Vilnius, Lithuania

Barbara Landau
School of Education
The University of Redlands
Redlands, California

Glenn P. Lauzon
Social Studies Development Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Robert S. Leming
Director, *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution*
Center for Civic Education
Calabasas, California

Bradley Levinson
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Becky MacFarlane
Program Coordinator, *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution*
Center for Civic Education
Calabasas, California

Rima Martineniene
Lithuanian College of Democracy
Vilnius, Lithuania

Terrence Mason
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Isnarmi Moeis
Universitas Negeri Padang
Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia

Winona Morrissette-Johnson
Williams High School
Alexandria, Virginia

Winnie Mucherah
Department of Educational Psychology
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Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana

Walter C. Parker
College of Education
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Seattle, Washington

John J. Patrick
Director, Social Studies
Development Center
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Krisztina Racz
Department of Applied Social Studies
Szeged University
Szeged, Hungary

Karen Riley
School of Education
Auburn University
Montgomery, Alabama

Janos Setenyi
Civitas Association, Hungary
Budapest, Hungary

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Evansville, Indiana

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Sulev Valdmaa
Jaan Tonisson Institute
Civic Education Centre
Tallinn, Estonia

Zinta Valdmane
Ministry of Education and Science
Riga, Latvia

Stephanie Van Hover
Department of Curriculum, Instruction and Special Education
The University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Polina Verbytska
All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History, Civic Education, and Social Studies
Lviv, Ukraine

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School of Education
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Austin, Texas

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Charles S. White
School of Education
Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

Elizabeth A. Yeager
College of Education
The University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

The contents of this volume were derived from the second annual R. Freeman Butts Institute on Civic Learning in Teacher Education, which was sponsored by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California and conducted by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington. The second annual Institute occurred at the University Place Conference Center in Indianapolis, Indiana from May 17-21, 2002. Participants in this international meeting were professors and leaders in civic education in the United States of America and a few countries of Europe and Asia.

The central theme of this meeting was education for democratic citizenship in the university-based preparation of prospective teachers. Improving education for democracy in programs of teacher education is a key to improving teaching and learning of democracy in elementary and secondary schools. If prospective teachers would be effective educators for democracy, then they must know what it is, how to do it, and why it is good.

The speakers at The Institute variously proposed core content and pedagogical practices for the civic foundations of teacher education programs. Papers presented by these speakers have been edited to become the twelve chapters of this book.

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ISBN 0-941339-28-9

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